PLUTARCH'S LIVES
PERICLES & FABIUS MAXIMUS,
DEMOSTHENES & CICERO.

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OF

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OF

PERICLES & FABIUS MAXIMUS, DEMOSTHENES & CICERO.

TRANSLATED BY

J. & W. LANGHORNE.

CASSELL & COMPANY, LIMITED:

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INTRODUCTION.

THIS volume contains two pairs of Plutarch's Parallel Lives of Greeks and Romans, which might themselves be made the subjects of a parallel between powers of statecraft and of eloquence, of sword and tongue. The four lives are those of Pericles, under whose rule Athens reached the highest point of its material development, and was glorified by the art of Phidias; and the Fabius who, as a brave general, by politic delays sought to exhaust the force of Hannibal's invasion, and save Rome from deadly peril; of Demosthenes, the greatest orator of Greece; and Cicero, the greatest orator of Rome. Pericles controlled for many years a city wanton with prosperity. Fabius had power entrusted to him for the saving of a city on the verge of ruin. The eloquence of Demosthenes was used against a foreign, that of Cicero against a domestic foe, and the name given to the orations in which Demosthenes levied war against Philip of Macedon was

applied by Cicero to his orations—his Philippics—against Antony.

In the telling of these lives Plutarch had fullest opportunity for use of his best powers. All the events with which they are connected belong to passages of history which have a large and ever-living interest. They abound in incident and anecdote suggestive of broad principles of life, and therefore fit material for Plutarch's purpose, and all is swiftly, vigorously told, so as to show life in action, and become, to those who read, one with the teaching of experience.

Plutarch's first lines in this volume represent his aim in all his writings. "We must condemn," he says, "those who employ that curiosity and love of knowledge which Nature has implanted in the human soul upon low and worthless objects, while they neglect such as are excellent and useful." The mind can choose the object of its contemplation; as Milton says, "Reason also is choice," and it should be employed, says Plutarch, not in bare contemplation, but in such contemplation as may nourish its faculties; should be directed to those subjects which through the channel of pleasure may lead us to our proper happiness.

Upon that sound principle which has governed the work of every great writer whose name the world retains in lasting honour, Plutarch wrote always. In his Lives he stands unequalled for the compact body of incident and anecdote which he contrives so to present to us that it enters our minds as the philosophy of life in action, as wise as if it had been all set forth in solemn treatise, as wise and by a great deal more effectual. But Plutarch wrote also short treatises, in which distinct features of life were thoughtfully considered, and in these also there was the charm of his practical good sense and living interest in the affairs of men.

Plutarch was a true artist, and his books are works of art. All works of art are meant to give delight. There may be surface grace to satisfy the vacant mind that passively receives a pleasure of the sense ; but a mind used to nobler pleasures has its chief delight in art that puts new sense of beauty, and a nearer spirit of humanity, into the perception of the highest truth it knows. Plutarch knew that and shaped his work accordingly. So Homer, Dante, Chaucer, Spenser, Shakespeare, Milton, understood their art. So it is understood by every writer who lives on, in close companionship with

men. Only the helpers live. Every generation has its own ways of killing time and finding rest from work in perfect idleness, which has also its use, like sleep. Names may survive, but little more than names, of literary idlers of the past. They are known to so few that antiquaries have free field among them for forming dry collections of the knowledge which the world at large has ceased to keep in mind. But a Plutarch never can go out of fashion.

H. M.

PERICLES.

WHEN Cæsar happened to see some strangers at Rome carrying young dogs and monkeys in their arms, and fondly caressing them, he asked "Whether the women in their country never bore any children;" thus reproving with a proper severity those who lavish upon brutes that natural tenderness which is due only to mankind. In the same manner we must condemn those who employ that curiosity and love of knowledge which nature has implanted in the human soul upon low and worthless objects, while they neglect such as are excellent and useful. Our senses, indeed, by an effect almost mechanical, are passive to the impression of outward objects, whether agreeable or offensive: but the mind possessed of a self-directing power may turn its attention to whatever it thinks proper. It should, therefore, be employed in the most useful pursuits, not barely in contemplation, but in such contemplation as may nourish its faculties. For as that colour is best suited to the eye which by its beauty and agreeableness at the same time both refreshes and strengthens the sight, so the application of the mind should be directed to those subjects which through the channel of pleasure may lead us to our proper happiness. Such are the works of virtue. The very description of these inspires us with emulation and a strong desire to

imitate them; whereas, in other things, admiration does not always lead us to imitate what we admire; but, on the contrary, while we are charmed with the work, we often despise the workman. Thus we are pleased with perfumes and purple, while dyers and perfumers appear to us in the light of mean mechanics.

Antisthenes, therefore, when he was told that Ismenias played excellently upon the flute, answered properly enough, "Then he is good for nothing else; otherwise he would not have played so well." Such also was Philip's saying to his son, when at a certain entertainment he sang in a very agreeable manner, "Are not you ashamed to sing so well?" It is enough for a prince to bestow a vacant hour upon hearing others sing, and he does the muses sufficient honour if he attends the performances of those who excel in their arts.

If a man applies himself to servile or mechanic employments, his industry in those things is a proof of his inattention to nobler studies. No young man of noble birth or liberal sentiments, from seeing the Jupiter at Pisa, would desire to be Phidias, or from the sight of the Juno at Argos, to be Polycletus; or Anacreon, or Philemon, or Archilochus, though delighted with their poems. For though a work may be agreeable, yet esteem of the author is not the necessary consequence. We may therefore conclude that things of this kind which excite not a spirit of emulation, nor produce any strong impulse or desire to imitate them, are of little use to the beholders. But virtue has this peculiar property, that at the same time that we admire her conduct, we long to copy the example. The goods of fortune we wish to enjoy, virtue we desire to practise; the former we are glad to receive from others, the latter we are ambitious that others

should receive from us. The beauty of goodness has an attractive power: it kindles in us at once an active principle; it forms our manners and influences our desires, not only when represented in a living example, but even in an historical description.

For this reason we chose to proceed in writing the lives of great men, and have composed this tenth book, which contains the life of Pericles, and that of Fabius Maximus, who carried on the war against Hannibal; men who resembled each other in many virtues, particularly in justice and moderation, and who effectually served their respective commonwealths, by patiently enduring the injurious and capricious treatment they received from their colleagues and their countrymen. Whether we are right in our judgment or not will be easy to see in the work itself.

Pericles was of the tribe of Acamantis, and of the ward of Cholargia. His family was one of the most considerable in Athens, both by the father's and mother's side. His father, Xanthippus, who defeated the King of Persia's generals at Mycale, married Agariste, the niece of Cleisthenes, who expelled the family of Pisistratus, abolished tyranny, enacted laws, and established a form of government tempered in such a manner as tended to unanimity among the people and the safety of the state. She dreamed that she was delivered of a lion, and a few days after brought forth Pericles. His person in other respects was well turned, but his head was disproportionately long. For this reason almost all his statues have the head covered with a helmet, the statuaries choosing, I suppose, to hide that defect. But the Athenian poets called him Schinocephalus or Onion-head, for the word *schinos* is sometimes used instead of *scilla*, a sea-onion. Cratinus,

the comic writer, in his play called *Chirones*, has this passage :—

> "Faction received old Time to her embraces;
> Hence came a tyrant spawn, on earth called Pericles,
> In heaven the head-compeller."

And again in his *Nemesis*, he thus addresses him,

> "Come, blessed Jove, the high and mighty head,
> The friend of hospitality!"

And Teleclides says,

> "Now in a maze of thought, he ruminates
> On strange expedients, while his head, depressed
> With its own weight, sinks on his knees: and now
> From the vast caverns of his brain burst forth
> Storms and fierce thunders."

And Eupolis, in his *Demi*, asking news of all the great orators, whom he represented as ascending from the shades below, when Pericles comes up last, cries out,

> "Head of the tribes that haunt those spacious realms,
> Does he ascend?"

Most writers agree that the master who taught him music was called Damon, the first syllable of whose name, they tell us, is to be pronounced short; but Aristotle informs us that he learned that art of Pythoclides. As for Damon, he seems to have been a politician, who, under the pretence of teaching music, concealed his great abilities from the vulgar; and he attended Pericles as his tutor and assistant in politics, in the same manner as a master of the gymnastic art attends a young man to fit him for the ring. However, Damon's giving lessons upon the harp was discovered to be a mere pretext, and, as a busy politician and friend to tyranny, he was banished by the ostracism. Nor was he spared by the

comic poets. One of them, named Plato, introduces a person addressing him thus :—

> " Inform me, Damon, first, does fame say true?
> And wast thou really Pericles' Chiron?"

Pericles also attended the lectures of Zeno of Elea, who, in natural philosophy, was a follower of Parmenides, and who, by much practice in the art of disputing, had learned to confound and silence all his opponents, as Timon the Phlasian declares in these verses :—

> " Have you not heard of Zeno's mighty powers,
> Who could change sides, yet changing triumphed still
> In the tongue's wars."

But the philosopher with whom he was most intimately acquainted, who gave him that force and sublimity of sentiment superior to all the demagogues, who, in short, formed him to that admirable dignity of manners, was Anaxagoras the Clazomenian. This was he whom the people of those times called " nous," or " intelligence," either in admiration of his great understanding and knowledge of the works of nature, or because he was the first who clearly proved that the universe owed its formation neither to chance nor necessity, but to a pure and unmixed Mind, who separated the homogeneous parts from the other with which they were confounded.

Charmed with the company of this philosopher, and instructed by him in the sublimest sciences, Pericles acquired not only an elevation of sentiment, and a loftiness and purity of style far removed from the low expression of the vulgar, but likewise a gravity of countenance which relaxed not into laughter, a firm and even tone of voice, an easy deportment, and a decency of dress which no vehemence of speaking ever put into disorder. These

things, and others of the like nature, excited admiration in all that saw him.

Such was his conduct when a vile and abandoned fellow loaded him a whole day with reproaches and abuse; he bore it with patience and silence, and continued in public for the despatch of some urgent affairs. In the evening he walked softly home, this impudent wretch following and insulting him all the way with the most scurrilous language. And as it was dark when he came to his own door, he ordered one of his servants to take a torch and light the man home. The poet Ion, however, says he was proud and supercilious in conversation, and that there was a great deal of vanity and contempt of others mixed with his dignity of manner; on the other hand, he highly extols the civility, complaisance, and politeness of Cimon. But to take no farther notice of Ion, who perhaps would not have any great excellence appear, without a mixture of something satirical, as it was in the ancient tragedy, Zeno desired those that called the gravity of Pericles pride and arrogance to be proud the same way, telling them the very acting of an excellent part might insensibly produce a love and real imitation of it.

These were not the only advantages which Pericles gained by conversing with Anaxagoras. From him he learned to overcome those terrors which the various phenomena of the heavens raise in those who know not their causes, and who entertain a tormenting fear of the gods by reason of that ignorance. Nor is there any cure for it but the study of nature, which, instead of the frightful extravagances of superstition, implants in us a sober piety supported by a rational hope.

We are told there was brought to Pericles, from one of

his farms, a ram's head with only one horn; and Lampo the soothsayer observing that the horn grew strong and firm out of the middle of the forehead, declared that the two parties in the state, namely, those of Thucydides and Pericles, would unite, and invest the whole power in him with whom the prodigy was found; but Anaxagoras having dissected the head, showed that the brain did not fill the whole cavity, but had contracted itself into an oval form, and pointed directly to that part of the skull whence the horn took its rise. This procured Anaxagoras great honour with the spectators; and Lampo was no less honoured for his prediction, when, soon after, upon the fall of Thucydides, the administration was put entirely into the hands of Pericles.

But, in my opinion, the philosopher and the diviner may well enough be reconciled, and both be right; the one discovering the cause and the other the end. It was the business of the former to account for the appearance, and to consider how it came about; and of the latter to show why it was so formed, and what it portended. Those who say that when the cause is found out the prodigy ceases do not consider that if they reject such signs as are preternatural, they must also deny that artificial signs are of any use: the clattering of brass quoits, the light of beacons, and the shadow of a sundial, have all of them their proper natural causes, and yet each has another signification. But perhaps this question might be more properly discussed in another place.

Pericles in his youth stood in great fear of the people. For in his countenance he was like Pisistratus the tyrant; and he perceived the old men were much struck with a farther resemblance in the sweetness of his voice, the

volubility of his tongue, and the roundness of his periods. As he was, moreover, of a noble family and opulent fortune, and his friends were the most considerable men in the state, he dreaded the ban of ostracism, and therefore intermeddled not with state affairs, but behaved with great courage and intrepidity in the field. However, when Aristides was dead, Themistocles banished, and Cimon much employed in expeditions at a distance from Greece, Pericles engaged in the administration. He chose rather to solicit the favour of the multitude and the poor than of the rich and the few, contrary to his natural disposition, which was far from inclining him to court popularity.

It seems he was apprehensive of falling under the suspicion of aiming at the supreme power, and was sensible, besides, that Cimon was attached to the nobility, and extremely beloved by persons of the highest eminence; and, therefore, in order to secure himself and to find resources against the power of Cimon, he studied to ingratiate himself with the common people. At the same time he entirely changed his manner of living. He appeared not in the streets, except when he went to the forum or the senate house. He declined the invitations of his friends, and all social entertainments and recreations; insomuch that in the whole time of his administration, which was a considerable length, he never went to sup with any of his friends, but once, which was at the marriage of his nephew Euryptolemus, and he stayed there only until the ceremony of libation was ended. He considered that the freedom of entertainments takes away all distinction of office, and that dignity is but little consistent with familiarity. Real and solid virtue, indeed, the more it is seen, the more glorious it appears; and there is nothing

in a good man's conduct as a magistrate so great, in the eye of the public, as is the general course of his behaviour in private to his most intimate friends. Pericles, however, took care not to make his person cheap among the people, and appeared among them only at proper intervals: nor did he speak to all points that were debated before them, but reserved himself, like the Salaminian galley (as Critolaus says) for greater occasions; despatching business of less consequence by other orators with whom he had an intimacy. One of these, we are told, was Ephialtes, who, according to Plato, overthrew the power of the council of Areopagus, by giving the citizens a large and intemperate draught of liberty. On which account the comic writers speak of the people of Athens as of a horse wild and unmanaged,

> "——— which listens to the reins no more,
> But in his maddening course bears headlong down
> The very friends that feed him."

Pericles, desirous to make his language a proper vehicle for his sublime sentiments, and to speak in a manner that became the dignity of his life, availed himself greatly of what he had learned of Anaxagoras; adorning his eloquence with the rich colours of philosophy. For, adding (as the divine Plato expresses it) the loftiness of imagination and all-commanding energy, with which philosophy supplied him, to his native powers of genius, and making use of whatever he found to his purpose in the study of nature to dignify the art of speaking, he far excelled all other orators. Hence he is said to have gained the surname of Olympius; though some will have it to have been from the edifices with which he adorned the city; and others from his high

authority both in peace and war. There appears, indeed, no absurdity in supposing that all these things might contribute to that glorious distinction. Yet the strokes of satire, both serious and ludicrous, in the comedies of those times, indicate that this title was given chiefly on account of his eloquence. For they tell us that in his harangues he thundered and lightened, and that his tongue was armed with thunder. Thucydides, the son of Milesius, is said to have given a pleasant account of the force of his eloquence. Thucydides was a great and respectable man, who for a long time opposed the measures of Pericles, and when Archidamus, one of the kings of Lacedæmon, asked him, "Which was the best wrestler, Pericles or he?" he answered, "When I throw him, he says he was never down, and he persuades the very spectators to believe so."

Yet such was the solicitude of Pericles when he had to speak in public, that he always first addressed a prayer to the gods, "That not a word might unawares escape him unsuitable to the occasion." He left nothing in writing but some public decrees; and only a few of his sayings are recorded. He used to say (for instance) that "The isle of Ægina should not be suffered to remain an eye-sore to the Piræus:" and that "He saw war approaching from Peloponnesus." And when Sophocles, who went in joint command with him upon an expedition at sea, happened to praise beauty, he said, "A general, my friend, should not only have pure hands, but pure eyes." Stesimbrotus produces this passage from the oration which Pericles pronounced in memory of those Athenians who fell in the Samian war, "They are become immortal like the gods; for the gods themselves are not visible to us; but from the honours

they receive, and the happiness they enjoy, we conclude they are immortal ; and such should those brave men be who die for their country."

Thucydides represents the administration of Pericles as favouring aristocracy, and tells us that, though the government was called democratical, it was really in the hands of one who had engrossed the whole authority. Many other writers likewise inform us that by him the people were first indulged with a division of lands, were treated at the public expense with theatrical diversions, and were paid for the most common services to the state. As this new indulgence from the government was an impolitic custom, which rendered the people expensive and luxurious, and destroyed that frugality and love of labour which supported them before, it is proper that we should trace the effect to its cause, by a retrospect into the circumstances of the republic.

At first, as we have observed, to raise himself to some sort of equality with Cimon, who was then at the height of glory, Pericles made his court to the people. And as Cimon was his superior in point of fortune, which he employed in relieving the poor Athenians, in providing victuals every day for the necessitous, and clothing the aged ; and, besides this, levelled his fences to the ground, that all might be at liberty to gather his fruit ; Pericles had recourse to the expedient of dividing the public treasure ; which scheme, as Aristotle informs us, was proposed to him by Demonides of Ios. Accordingly, by supplying the people with money for public diversions, and for their attendance in courts of judicature, and by other pensions and gratuities, he so inveigled them as to avail himself of their interest against the council of the Areopagus, of which he had no right to be a member,

having never the fortune to be chosen archon, thesmothetes, king of the sacred rites, or polemarch. For persons were of old appointed to these offices by lot; and such as had discharged them well, and such only, were admitted as judges in the Areopagus. Pericles, therefore, by his popularity raised a party against that council, and, by means of Ephialtes, took from them the cognisance of many causes that had been under their jurisdiction. He likewise caused Cimon to be banished by the ostracism, as an enemy to the people and a friend to the Lacedæmonians: a man who in birth and fortune had no superior, who had gained very glorious victories over the barbarians, and filled the city with money and other spoils, as we have related in his life. Such was the authority of Pericles with the common people.

The term of Cimon's banishment, as it was by ostracism, was limited by law to ten years. Meantime, the Lacedæmonians, with a great army, entered the territory of Tanagra, and the Athenians immediately marching out against them, Cimon returned and placed himself in the ranks with those of his tribe, intending by his deeds to wipe off the aspersion of favouring the Lacedæmonians, and to venture his life with his countrymen; but by a combination of the friends of Pericles he was repulsed as an exile. This seems to have been the cause that Pericles exerted himself in a particular manner in that battle, and exposed his person to the greatest dangers. All Cimon's friends, whom Pericles had accused as accomplices in his pretended crime, fell honourably that day together; and the Athenians, who were defeated upon their own borders, and expected a still sharper conflict in the summer, grievously repented of their treatment of Cimon, and longed for his return. Pericles, sensible of the

people's inclinations, did not hesitate to gratify them, but himself proposed a decree for recalling Cimon: and, at his return, a peace was agreed upon through his mediation. For the Lacedæmonians had a particular regard for him, as well as aversion for Pericles and the other demagogues. But some authors write that Pericles did not procure an order for Cimon's return till they had entered into a private compact, by means of Cimon's sister Elpinice, that Cimon should have the command abroad, and with two hundred galleys lay waste the king of Persia's dominions, and Pericles have the direction of affairs at home. A story goes that Elpinice before this had softened the resentment of Pericles against Cimon, and procured her brother a milder sentence than that of death. Pericles was one of those appointed by the people to manage the impeachment; and when Elpinice addressed him as a suppliant, he smiled, and said, "You are old, Elpinice, much too old to solicit in so weighty an affair." However, he rose up but once to speak, barely to acquit himself of his trust, and did not bear so hard upon Cimon as the rest of his accusers. Who, then, can give credit to Idomeneus, when he says that Pericles caused the orator Ephialtes, his friend and assistant in the administration, to be assassinated, through jealousy and envy of his great character? I know not where he met with this calumny, which he vents with great bitterness against a man, not indeed in all respects irreproachable, but who certainly had such a greatness of mind and high sense of honour, as was incompatible with an action so savage and inhuman. The truth of the matter, according to Aristotle, is, that Ephialtes being grown formidable to the nobles, on account of his inflexible severity in prosecuting all that invaded the rights of

the people, his enemies caused him to be taken off in a private and treacherous manner by Aristodicus of Tanagra.

About the same time died Cimon, in the expedition to Cyprus. And the nobility perceiving that Pericles was now arrived at a height of authority which set him far above the other citizens, were desirous of having some person to oppose him, who might be capable of giving a check to his power, and of preventing his making himself absolute. For this purpose they set up Thucydides, of the ward of Alopece, a man of great prudence, and brother-in-law to Cimon. He had not, indeed, Cimon's talent for war, but was superior to him in forensic and political abilities; and, by residing constantly in Athens, and opposing Pericles in the general assembly, he soon brought the government to an equilibrium. For he did not suffer persons of superior rank to be dispersed and confounded with the rest of the people, because in that case their dignity was obscured and lost; but collected them into a separate body, by which means their authority was enhanced and sufficient weight thrown into their scale. There was, indeed, from the beginning, a kind of doubtful separation, which, like the flaws in a piece of iron, indicated that the aristocratical party and that of the commonalty were not perfectly one, though they were not actually divided: but the ambition of Pericles and Thucydides, and the contest between them, had so extraordinary an effect upon the city, that it was quite broken in two, and one part was called the people, and the other the nobility. For this reason, Pericles more than ever gave the people the reins, and endeavoured to ingratiate himself with them, contriving to have always some show, or play, or feast, or procession in the city, and to amuse it with the politest pleasures.

As another means of employing their attention he sent out sixty galleys every year, manned for eight months, with a considerable number of the citizens, who were both paid for their service, and improved themselves as mariners. He likewise sent a colony of a thousand men to the Chersonesus, five hundred to Naxos, two hundred and fifty to Andros, a thousand into the country of the Bisaltæ in Thrace, and others into Italy, who settled in Sibaris, and changed its name to Thurii. These things he did to clear the city of a useless multitude, who were very troublesome when they had nothing to do; to make provision for the most necessitous; and to keep the allies of Athens in awe, by placing colonies like so many garrisons in their neighbourhood.

That which was the chief delight of the Athenians, and the wonder of strangers, and which alone serves for a proof that the boasted power and opulence of ancient Greece is not an idle tale, was the magnificence of the temples and public edifices. Yet no part of the conduct of Pericles moved the spleen of his enemies more than this. In their accusations of him to the people, they insisted, "That he had brought the greatest disgrace upon the Athenians by removing the public treasures of Greece from Delos, and taking them into his own custody. That he had not left himself even the specious apology of having caused the money to be brought to Athens for its greater security, and to keep it from being seized by the barbarians. That Greece must needs consider it as the highest insult and an act of open tyranny, when she saw the money she had been obliged to contribute towards the war lavished by the Athenians in gilding their city, and ornamenting it with statues, and temples that cost a thousand talents, as a proud and vain woman

decks herself out with jewels." Pericles answered this charge by observing, "That they were not obliged to give the allies any account of the sums they had received, since they had kept the barbarians at a distance and effectually defended the allies, who had not furnished either horses, ships, or men, but only contributed money, which is no longer the property of the giver, but of the receiver, if he performs the conditions on which it is received. That as the state was provided with all the necessaries of war, its superfluous wealth should be laid out on such works as, when executed, would be eternal monuments of its glory, and which, during their execution, would diffuse a universal plenty; for as so many kinds of labour, and such a variety of instruments and materials were requisite to these undertakings, every art would be exerted, every hand employed, almost the whole city would be in pay, and be at the same time both adorned and supported by itself." Indeed, such as were of a proper age and strength were wanted for the wars, and well rewarded for their services; and as for the mechanics and meaner sort of people, they were not without their share of the public money, nor yet had they it to support them in idleness. By the constructing of great edifices, which required many arts, and a long time to finish them, they had equal pretensions to be considered out of the treasury (though they stirred not out of the city) with the mariners and soldiers, guards and garrisons. For the different materials, such as stone, brass, ivory, gold, ebony, and cypress, furnished employment to carpenters, masons, braziers, goldsmiths, painters, turners, and other artificers; the conveyance of them by sea employed merchants and sailors; and by land, wheelwrights, waggoners, carriers, rope-makers, leather-cutters,

paviors, and iron-founders : and every art had a number of the lower people ranged in proper subordination to execute it, like soldiers under the command of a general. Thus by the exercise of these different trades, plenty was diffused among persons of every rank and condition. Thus works were raised of an astonishing magnitude and inimitable beauty and perfection, every architect striving to surpass the magnificence of the design with the elegance of the execution ; yet still the most wonderful circumstance was the expedition with which they were completed. Many edifices, each of which seems to have required the labour of several successive ages, were finished during the administration of one prosperous man.

It is said that when Agatharcus, the painter, valued himself upon the celerity and ease with which he despatched his pieces, Zeuxis replied, " If I boast, it shall be of the slowness with which I finish mine." For ease and speed in the execution seldom give a work any lasting importance or exquisite beauty; while, on the other hand, the time which is expended in labour is recovered and repaid in the duration of the performance. Hence we have the more reason to wonder that the structures raised by Pericles should be built in so short a time, and yet built for ages : for as each of them, as soon as finished, had the venerable air of antiquity, so, now they are old, they have the freshness of a modern building. A bloom is diffused over them, which preserves their aspect untarnished by time, as if they were animated with a spirit of perpetual youth and unfading elegance.

Phidias was appointed by Pericles superintendent of all the public edifices, though the Athenians had then other eminent architects and excellent workmen. The

Parthenon, or temple of Pallas, whose dimensions had been a hundred feet square, was rebuilt by Callicrates and Ictinus. Corœbus began the temple of Initiation at Eleusis, but only lived to finish the lower rank of columns with their architraves. Metagenes, of the ward of Xypete, added the rest of the entablature and the upper row of columns; and Xenocles of Cholargus built the dome on the top. The long wall, the building of which Socrates says he heard Pericles propose to the people, was undertaken by Callicrates. Cratinus ridicules this work as proceeding very slowly:

> "Stones upon stones the orator has piled
> With swelling words, but words will build no walls."

The Odeum, or music theatre, which was likewise built by the direction of Pericles, had within it many rows of seats and of pillars; the roof was of a conic figure, after the model (we are told) of the King of Persia's pavilion. Cratinus, therefore, rallies him again in his play called *Thrattæ*:

> "As Jove, an onion on his head he wears;
> As Pericles, a whole orchéstre bears;
> Afraid of broils and banishment no more,
> He tunes the shell he trembled at before!"

Pericles at this time exerted all his interest to have a decree made, appointing a prize for the best performer in music during the Panathenæa; and as he was himself appointed judge and distributor of the prizes, he gave the contending artists direction in what manner to proceed, whether their performance was vocal or on the flute or lyre. From that time the prizes in music were always contended for in the Odeum.

The vestibule of the citadel was finished in five years by Mnesicles, the architect. A wonderful event that

happened while the work was in hand showed that the goddess was not averse to the work, but rather took it into her protection, and encouraged them to complete it. One of the best and most active of the workmen, missing his step, fell from the top to the bottom, and was bruised in such a manner that his life was despaired of by the physicians. Pericles was greatly concerned at this accident; but, in the midst of his affliction, the goddess appeared to him in a dream, and informed him of a remedy, which he applied, and thereby soon recovered the patient. In memory of this cure, he placed in the citadel, near the altar (which is said to have been there before), a brazen statue of the Minerva of Health. The golden statue of the same goddess was the workmanship of Phidias, and his name is inscribed upon the pedestal (as we have already observed). Through the friendship of Pericles he had the direction of everything, and all the artists received his orders. For this the one was envied, and the other slandered; and it was intimated that Phidias received into his house ladies for Pericles, who came thither under pretence of seeing his works. The comic poets, getting hold of this story, represented him as a perfect libertine. They accused him of an intrigue with the wife of Menippus, his friend and lieutenant in the army; and because Pyrilampes, another intimate acquaintance of his, had a collection of curious birds, and particularly of peacocks, it was supposed that he kept them only for presents for those women who unduly favoured Pericles. But what wonder is it if men of a satirical turn daily sacrifice the characters of the great to that malevolent demon, the envy of the multitude, when Stesimbrotus of Thasos has dared to lodge against Pericles that horrid and groundless accusation of corrupting his

son's wife? So difficult is it to come at truth in the walk of history: since if the writers live after the events they relate, they can be but imperfectly informed of facts; and if they describe the persons and transactions of their own times, they are tempted by envy and hatred, or by interest and friendship, to vitiate and pervert the truth.

The orators of Thucydides' party raised a clamour against Pericles, asserting that he wasted the public treasure and brought the revenue to nothing. Pericles, in his defence, asked the people in full assembly, "Whether they thought he had expended too much?" Upon their answering in the affirmative, "Then be it," said he, "charged to my account, not yours: only let the new edifices be inscribed with my name, not that of the people of Athens." Whether it was that they admired the greatness of his spirit, or were ambitious to share the glory of such magnificent works, they cried out, "That he might spend as much as he pleased of the public treasure, without sparing it in the least."

At last the contest came on between him and Thucydides, which of them should be banished by the ostracism: Pericles gained the victory, banished his adversary, and entirely defeated his party. The opposition now being at an end, and unanimity taking place amongst all ranks of people, Pericles became sole master of Athens and its dependencies. The revenue, the army and navy, the islands and the sea, a most extensive territory, peopled by barbarians as well as Greeks, fortified with the obedience of subject nations, the friendship of kings and alliance of princes, were all at his command.

From this time he became a different man; he was no longer so obsequious to the humour of the populace, which is as wild and as changeable as the winds. The multitude

were not indulged or courted; the government in fact was not popular: its loose and luxuriant harmony was confined to stricter measures, and it assumed an aristocratical or rather monarchical form. He kept the public good in his eye, and pursued the straight path of honour. For the most part gently leading them by argument to a sense of what was right, and sometimes forcing them to comply with what was for their own advantage; in this respect imitating a good physician, who, in the various symptoms of a long disease sometimes administers medicines tolerably agreeable, and at other times sharp and strong ones, when such alone are capable of restoring the patient. He was the man that had the art of controlling those many disorderly passions which necessarily spring up amongst a people possessed of so extensive a dominion. The two engines he worked with were hope and fear; with these, repressing their violence when they were too impetuous, and supporting their spirits when inclined to languor, he made it appear that rhetoric is (as Plato defined it) the art of ruling the minds of men, and that its principal province consists in moving the passions and affections of the soul, which, like so many strings in a musical instrument, require the touch of a masterly and delicate hand. Nor were the powers of eloquence alone sufficient, but (as Thucydides observes) the orator was a man of probity and unblemished reputation. Money could not bribe him: he was so much above the desire of it, though he added greatly to the opulence of the state, which he found not inconsiderable, and though his power exceeded that of many kings and tyrants, some of whom have bequeathed to their posterity the sovereignty they had obtained, yet he added not one drachma to his paternal estate.

Thucydides, indeed, gives this candid account of the power and authority of Pericles, but the comic writers abuse him in a most malignant manner, giving his friends the name of the New Pisistratidæ, and calling upon him to swear that he would never attempt to make himself absolute, since his authority was already much too great and overbearing in a free state. Teleclides says the Athenians had given up to him

> "The tributes of the states, the states themselves
> To bind, to loose; to build and to destroy;
> In peace, in war, to govern; nay, to rule
> Their very fate, like some superior being."

And this not only for a time, or during the prime and flower of a short administration; but for forty years together he held the pre-eminence, amidst such men as Ephialtes, Leocrates, Myronides, Cimon, Tolmides, and Thucydides; and continued it no less than fifteen years after the fall and banishment of the latter. The power of the magistrates, which to them was but annual, all centred in him, yet still he kept himself untainted by avarice. Not that he was inattentive to his finances; but, on the contrary, neither negligent of his paternal estate, nor yet willing to have much trouble with it as he had not much time to spare, he brought the management of it into such a method as was very easy, at the same time that it was exact. For he used to turn a whole year's produce into money altogether, and with this he bought from day to day all manner of necessaries at the market. This way of living was not agreeable to his sons when grown up, and the allowance he made the women did not appear to them a generous one; they complained of a pittance daily measured out with

scrupulous economy, which admitted of none of those superfluities so common in great houses and wealthy families, and could not bear to think of the expenses being so nicely adjusted to the income.

The person who managed these concerns with so much exactness was a servant of his named Evangelus, either remarkably fitted for the purpose by nature, or formed to it by Pericles. Anaxagoras, indeed, considered these lower attentions as inconsistent with his wisdom. Following the dictates of enthusiasm, and rapt up in sublime inquiries, he quitted his house, and left his land untilled and desolate. But, in my opinion, there is an essential difference between a speculative and a practical philosopher. The former advances ideas into the regions of science without the assistance of anything corporeal or external : the latter endeavours to apply his great qualities to the use of mankind, and riches afford him not only necessary but excellent assistance. Thus it was with Pericles, who by his wealth was enabled to relieve numbers of the poor citizens. Nay, for want of such prudential regards, this very Anaxagoras, we are told, lay neglected and unprovided for, insomuch that the poor old man had covered up his head and was going to starve himself. But an account of it being brought to Pericles, he was extremely moved at it, ran immediately to him, expostulated, entreated ; bewailing not so much the fate of his friend as his own, if his administration should lose so valuable a counsellor. Anaxagoras, uncovering his face, replied, "Ah, Pericles ! those that have need of a lamp take care to supply it with oil."

By this time the Lacedæmonians began to express some jealousy of the Athenian greatness, and Pericles willing to advance it still higher, and to make the people more

sensible of their importance and more inclinable to great attempts, procured an order that all the Greeks, wheresoever they resided, whether in Europe or in Asia, whether their cities were small or great, should send deputies to Athens to consult about rebuilding the Grecian temples which the barbarians had burned, and about providing those sacrifices which had been vowed during the Persian war, for the preservation of Greece: and likewise to enter into such measures as might secure navigation and maintain the peace.

Accordingly twenty persons, each upwards of fifty years of age, were sent with this proposal to the different states of Greece. Five went to the Ionians and Dorians in Asia, and the islanders as far as Lesbos and Rhodes; five to the cities about the Hellespont and in Thrace, as far as Byzantium; five to the inhabitants of Bœotia, Phocis, and Peloponnesus, and from thence, by Locri, along the adjoining continent to Acarnania and Ambracia. The rest were despatched through Eubœa to the Greeks that dwelt upon Mount Oetæa and near the Maliac Bay, to the Phthiotæ, the Achæans and Thessalians, inviting them to join in the council and new confederacy for the preservation of the peace of Greece. It took not effect, however, nor did the cities send their deputies; the reason of which is said to be the opposition of the Lacedæmonians, for the proposal was first rejected in Peloponnesus. But I was willing to give account of it as a specimen of the greatness of the orator's spirit, and of his disposition to form magnificent designs.

His chief merit in war was the safety of his measures. He never willingly engaged in any uncertain or very dangerous expedition, nor had any ambition to imitate those generals who are admired as great men because

their rash enterprises have been attended with success; he always told the Athenians, "That as far as their fate depended upon him, they should be immortal." Perceiving that Tolmides, the son of Tolmæus, in confidence of his former success and military reputation, was preparing to invade Bœotia at an unseasonable time, and that over and above the regular troops, he had persuaded the bravest and most spirited of the Athenian youth, to the number of a thousand, to go volunteers in that expedition; he addressed them in public and tried to divert him from it, making use, among the rest, of those well-known words, "If you regard not the opinion of Pericles, yet wait at least for the advice of time who is the best of all counsellors." This saying for the present gained no great applause: but when, a few days after, news was brought that Tolmides was defeated and killed at Coronea, together with many of the bravest citizens, it procured Pericles great respect and love from the people, who considered it as a proof, not only of his sagacity, but of his affection for his countrymen.

Of his military expeditions, that to the Chersonesus procured him most honour, because it proved very salutary to the Greeks who dwelt there. For he not only strengthened their cities with the addition of a thousand able-bodied Athenians, but raised fortifications across the Isthmus from sea to sea: thus guarding against the incursions of the Thracians who were spread about the Chersonesus, and putting an end to those long and grievous wars under which that district had smarted by reason of the neighbourhood of the barbarians, as well as to the robberies with which it had been infested by persons who lived upon the borders, or were inhabitants of the country. But the expedition most celebrated

among strangers was that by sea around Peloponnesus. He set sail from Pegæ in the territories of Megara with a hundred ships of war, and not only ravaged the maritime cities, as Tolmides had done before him, but landed his forces and penetrated a good way up the country. The terror of his arms drove the inhabitants into their walled towns—all but the Sicyonians, who made head against him at Nemea and were defeated in a pitched battle ; in memory of which victory he erected a trophy. From Achaia, a confederate state, he took a number of men into his galleys, and sailed to the opposite side of the continent ; then passing by the mouth of the Achelous, he made a descent on Acarnania, shut up the Œneadæ within their walls, and having laid waste the country, returned home. In the whole course of this affair, he appeared terrible to his enemies, and to his countrymen an active and prudent commander ; for no miscarriage was committed, nor did even any unfortunate accident happen during the whole time.

Having sailed to Pontus with a large and well-equipped fleet, he procured the Grecian cities there all the advantages they desired, and treated them with great regard. To the barbarous nations that surrounded them, and to their kings and princes he made the power of Athens very respectable, by showing with what security her fleets could sail, and that she was in effect mistress of the seas. He left the people of Sinope thirteen ships under the command of Lamachus, and a body of men to act against Timesileos, their tyrant. And when the tyrant and his party were driven out, he caused a decree to be made, that a colony of six hundred Athenian volunteers should be placed in Sinope, and put in posses-

sion of those houses and lands which had belonged to the tyrants.

He did not, however, give way to the wild desires of the citizens, nor would he indulge them, when, elated with their strength and good fortune, they talked of recovering Egypt, and of attempting the coast of Persia. Many were likewise at this time possessed with the unfortunate passion for Sicily, which the orators of Alcibiades' party afterwards inflamed still more. Nay, some even dreamed of Etruria and Carthage, and not without some ground of hope, as they imagined, because of the great extent of their dominions, and the successful course of their affairs.

But Pericles restrained this impetuosity of the citizens, and curbed their extravagant desire of conquest; employing the greatest part of their forces in strengthening and securing their present acquisitions, and considering it as a matter of consequence to keep the Lacedæmonians within bounds; whom he therefore opposed, as on other occasions, so particularly in the Sacred War. For when the Lacedæmonians, by dint of arms, had restored the temple to the citizens of Delphi, which had been seized by the Phocians, Pericles, immediately after the departure of the Lacedæmonians, marched thither and put it into the hands of the Phocians again. And as the Lacedæmonians had engraved on the forehead of the brazen wolf the privilege which the people of Delphi had granted them of consulting the oracle first, Pericles caused the same privilege for the Athenians, to be inscribed on the wolf's right side.

The event showed that he was right in confining the Athenian forces to act within the bounds of Greece. For, in the first place, the Eubœans revolted, and he led an

army against them. Soon after, news was brought that Megara had commenced hostilities, and that the Lacedæmonian forces, under the command of king Plistonax, were upon the borders of Attica. The enemy offered him battle; he did not choose, however, to risk an engagement with so numerous and resolute an army. But as Plistonax was very young, and chiefly directed by Cleandrides, a counsellor whom the Ephori had appointed him on account of his tender age, he attempted to bribe that counsellor, and succeeding in it to his wish, persuaded him to draw off the Peloponnesians from Attica. The soldiers dispersing and retiring to their respective homes, the Lacedæmonians were so highly incensed, that they laid a heavy fine upon the king, and as he was not able to pay it, he withdrew from Lacedæmon. As for Cleandrides, who fled from justice, they condemned him to death. He was the father of Gylippus, who defeated the Athenians in Sicily, and who seemed to have derived the vice of avarice from him as an hereditary distemper. He was led by it into bad practices, for which he was banished with ignominy from Sparta, as we have related in the life of Lysander.

In the accounts for this campaign Pericles put down ten talents laid out "for a necessary use," and the people allowed it, without examining the matter closely or prying into the secret. According to some writers, and among the rest Theophrastus the philosopher, Pericles sent ten talents every year to Sparta, with which he gained all the magistracy, and kept them from acts of hostility; not that he purchased peace with the money, but only gained time, that he might have leisure to make preparations to carry on the war afterwards with advantage.

Immediately after the retreat of the Lacedæmonians, he turned his arms against the revolters, and passing over into Eubœa, with fifty ships and five thousand men, he reduced the cities. He expelled the Hippobotæ, persons distinguished by their opulence and authority among the Chalcidians ; and having exterminated all the Hestiæans, he gave their city to a colony of Athenians. The cause of this severity was their having taken an Athenian ship and murdered the whole crew.

Soon after this the Athenians and Lacedæmonians having agreed upon a truce for thirty years, Pericles caused a decree to be made for an expedition against Samos. The pretence he made use of was that the Samians when commanded to put an end to the war with the Milesians, had refused it. But as he seems to have entered upon this war merely to gratify Aspasia, it may not be amiss to inquire by what art or power she captivated the greatest statesmen, and brought even philosophers to speak of her so much to her advantage.

It is agreed that she was by birth a Milesian, and the daughter of Axiochus. She is reported to have trod in the steps of Thargelia, who was descended from the ancient Ionians, and to have reserved her intimacies for the great. This Thargelia, who to the charms of her person added a peculiar politeness and poignant wit, had many lovers among the Greeks, and drew over to the king of Persia's interest all that approached her ; by whose means, as they were persons of eminence and authority, she sowed the seeds of the Median faction among the Grecian states.

Some, indeed, say that Pericles made his court to Aspasia only on account of her wisdom and political abilities. Nay, even Socrates himself sometimes visited

her along with his friends; and her acquaintance took their wives with them to hear her discourse, though the business that supported her was neither honourable nor decent, for she kept a number of courtezans in her house. Æschines informs us that Lysicles, who was a grazier, and of a mean, ungenerous disposition, by his intercourse with Aspasia after the death of Pericles, became the most considerable man in Athens. And though Plato's Menexenus in the beginning is rather humorous than serious, yet thus much of history we may gather from it, that many Athenians resorted to her on account of her skill in the art of speaking.

I should not, however, think that the attachment of Pericles was of so delicate a kind. For, though his wife, who was his relation, and had been first married to Hipponicus by whom she had Callias the Rich, brought him two sons, Xanthippus and Paralus, yet they lived so ill together that they parted by consent. She was married to another, and he took Aspasia, for whom he had the tenderest regard, insomuch that he never went out upon business, or returned, without saluting her. In the comedies she is called the New Omphale, Deianira, and Juno. Cratinus plainly calls her a courtezan:

> "—— She bore this Juno, this Aspasia,
> Skilled in the shameless trade and every art
> Of wantonness."

He seems also to have had a natural son by her; for he is introduced by Eupolis inquiring after him thus:

> "—— Still lives the offspring of my dalliance?"

Pyronides answers,

> "He lives, and might have borne the name of husband
> Did he not dream that every bosom fair
> Is not a chaste one."

Such was the fame of Aspasia, that Cyrus, who contended with Artaxerxes for the Persian crown, gave the name of Aspasia to his favourite concubine, who before was called Milto. This woman was born in Phocis, and was the daughter of Hermotimus. When Cyrus was slain in the battle, she was carried to the king, and had afterwards great influence over him. These particulars occurring to my memory as I wrote this life, I thought it would be a needless affectation of gravity, if not an offence against politeness, to pass them over in silence.

I now return to the Samian war, which Pericles is much blamed for having promoted in favour of the Milesians, at the instigation of Aspasia. The Milesians and Samians had been at war for the city of Priene, and the Samians had the advantage, when the Athenians interposed, and ordered them to lay down their arms, and refer the decision of the dispute to them: but the Samians refused to comply with this demand. Pericles, therefore, sailed with a fleet to Samos, and abolished the oligarchical form of government. He then took fifty of the principal men, and the same number of children, as hostages, and sent them to Lemnos. Each of these hostages, we are told, offered him a talent for his ransom; and those that were desirous to prevent the settling of a democracy among them would have given him much more. Pissuthenes, the Persian, who had the interest of the Samians at heart, likewise sent him ten thousand pieces of gold, to prevail upon him to grant them more favourable terms. Pericles, however, would receive none of their presents, but treated the Samians in the manner he resolved on; and, having established a popular government in the island, he returned to Athens.

But they soon revolted again, having recovered their

hostages by some private measure of Pissuthenes, and made new preparations for war. Pericles, coming with a fleet to reduce them once more, found them not in a posture of negligence or despair, but determined to contend with him for the dominion of the sea. A sharp engagement ensued near the isle of Tragia, and Pericles gained a glorious victory, having with forty-four ships defeated seventy, twenty of which had soldiers on board.

Pursuing his victory, he possessed himself of the harbour of Samos, and laid siege to the city. They still retained courage enough to sally out and give him battle before the walls. Soon after a greater fleet came from Athens, and the Samians were entirely shut up; whereupon Pericles took sixty galleys, and steered for the Mediterranean, with a design, as is generally supposed, to meet the Phœnician fleet that was coming to the relief of Samos, and to engage with it at a great distance from the island.

Stesimbrotus, indeed, says he intended to sail for Cyprus, which is very improbable. But whatever his design was, he seems to have committed an error. For, as soon as he was gone, Melissus, the son of Ithagenes, a man distinguished as a philosopher, and at that time commander of the Samians, despising either the small number of ships that was left, or else the inexperience of their officers, persuaded his countrymen to attack the Athenians. Accordingly a battle was fought, and the Samians obtained the victory; for they made many prisoners, destroyed the greatest part of the enemy's fleet, cleared the seas, and imported whatever warlike stores and provisions they wanted. Aristotle writes, that Pericles himself had been beaten by the same Melissus in a former sea-fight.

The Samians returned upon the Athenian prisoners the

insult they had received—marked their foreheads with the figure of an owl, as the Athenians had branded them with a *Samæna*, which is a kind of ship built low in the forepart, and wide and hollow in the sides. This form makes it light and expeditious in sailing, and it was called *Samæna* from its being invented in Samos by Polycrates the tyrant. Aristophanes is supposed to have hinted at these marks when he says :—

"The Samians are a lettered race."

As soon as Pericles was informed of the misfortune that had befallen his army, he immediately returned with succours, gave Melissus battle, routed the enemy, and blocked up the town by building a wall about it, choosing to owe the conquest of it rather to time and expense than to purchase it with the blood of his fellow-citizens. But when he found the Athenians murmured at the time spent in the blockade, and that it was difficult to restrain them from the assault, he divided the army into eight parts, and ordered them to draw lots. That division which drew a white bean were to enjoy themselves in case and pleasure while the others fought. Hence, it is said, that those who spend the day in feasting and merriment call that a white day from the white bean.

Ephorus adds, that Pericles in this siege made use of battering engines, the invention of which he much admired, it being then a new one ; and that he had Artemon, the engineer, along with him, who, on account of his lameness, was carried about in a litter, when his presence was required to direct the machines, and thence had the surname of Periphoretus. But Heraclides of Pontus confutes this assertion by some verses of Anacreon, in which mention is made of Artemon Periphoretus several

ages before the Samian war and these transactions of Pericles. And he tells us this Artemon was a person who gave himself up to luxury, and was withal of a timid and effeminate spirit; that he spent most of his time within doors, and had a shield of brass held over his head by a couple of slaves, lest something should fall upon him. Moreover, that if he happened to be necessarily obliged to go abroad, he was carried in a litter which hung so low as almost to touch the ground, and therefore was called Periphoretus.

After nine months the Samians surrendered. Pericles razed their walls, seized their ships, and laid a heavy fine upon them; part of which they paid down directly, the rest they promised at a set time, and gave hostages for the payment. Duris the Samian makes a melancholy tale of it, accusing Pericles and the Athenians of great cruelty, of which no mention is made by Thucydides, Ephorus, or Aristotle. What he relates concerning the Samian officers and seamen seems quite fictitious; he tells us, that Pericles caused them to be brought into the market place at Miletus, and to be bound to posts there for ten days together, at the end of which he ordered them, by that time in the most wretched condition, to be despatched by clubs, and refused their bodies the honour of burial. Duris, indeed, in his histories, often goes beyond the limits of truth, even when not misled by any interest or passion, and therefore is more likely to have exaggerated the sufferings of his country, to make the Athenians appear in an odious light.

Pericles at his return to Athens, after the reduction of Samos, celebrated in a splendid manner the obsequies of his countrymen who fell in that war, and pronounced himself the funeral oration usual on such occasions,

This gained him great applause; and when he came down from the rostrum, the women paid their respects to him, and presented him with crowns and chaplets, like a champion just returned victorious from the lists. Only Elpinice addressed him in terms quite different: "Are these actions, then, Pericles, worthy of crowns and garlands, which have deprived us of many brave citizens; not in a war with the Phœnicians and Medes, such as my brother Cimon waged, but in destroying a city united to us both in blood and friendship?" Pericles only smiled, and answered softly with this line of Archilochus,

"Why lavish ointments on a head that's grey?"

Ion informs us, that he was highly elated with this conquest, and scrupled not to say, "that Agamemnon spent ten years in reducing one of the cities of the barbarians, whereas he had taken the richest and most powerful city among the Ionians in nine months." And, indeed, he had reason to be proud of this achievement, for the war was really a dangerous one, and the event uncertain, since, according to Thucydides, such was the power of the Samians that the Athenians were in imminent danger of losing the dominion of the sea.

Some time after this, when the Peloponnesian War was ready to break out, Pericles persuaded the people to send succours to the inhabitants of Corcyra, who were at war with the Corinthians; which would be a means to fix in their interest an island whose naval forces were considerable, and might be of great service in case of a rupture with the Peloponnesians, which they had all the reason in the world to expect would be soon. The succours were decreed accordingly, and Pericles sent Lacedæmonius, the son of Cimon, with ten ships only, as if

he designed nothing more than to disgrace him. A mutual regard and friendship subsisted between Cimon's family and the Spartans, and he now furnished his son with but a few ships, and gave him the charge of this affair against his inclination, in order that, if nothing great or striking were effected, Lacedæmonius might be still the more suspected of favouring the Spartans. Nay, by all imaginable methods, he endeavoured to hinder the advancement of that family, representing the sons of Cimon, as by their very names not genuine Athenians, but strangers and aliens, one of them being called Lacedæmonius, another Thessalus, and a third Eleus. They seem to have been all the sons of an Arcadian woman. Pericles, however, finding himself greatly blamed about these ten galleys, an aid by no means sufficient to answer the purpose of those that requested it, but likely enough to afford his enemies a pretence to accuse him, sent another squadron to Corcyra, which did not arrive till the action was over.

The Corinthians, offended at this treatment, complained of it at Lacedæmon, and the Megarensians at the same time alleged that the Athenians would not suffer them to come to any mart or port of theirs, but drove them out, thereby infringing the common privileges, and breaking the oath they had taken before the general assembly of Greece. The people of Ægina, too, privately acquainted the Lacedæmonians with many encroachments and injuries done them by the Athenians, whom they durst not accuse openly. And at this very juncture Potidæa, a Corinthian colony, but subject to the Athenians, being besieged in consequence of its revolt, hastened on the war.

However, as ambassadors were sent to Athens, and as

Archidamus, king of the Lacedæmonians endeavoured to give a healing turn to most of the articles in question and to pacify the allies, probably no other point would have involved the Athenians in war, if they could have been persuaded to rescind the decree against the Megarensians, and to be reconciled to them. Pericles, therefore, in exerting all his interest to oppose this measure, in retaining his enmity to the Megarensians and working up the people to the same rancour, was the sole author of the war.

It is said that, when the ambassadors from Lacedæmon came upon this occasion to Athens, Pericles pretended there was a law which forbad the taking down any tablet on which a decree of the people was written. "Then," said Polyarces, one of the ambassadors, "do not take it down, but turn the other side outward; there is no law against that." Notwithstanding the pleasantry of this answer, Pericles relented not in the least. He seems, indeed, to have had some private pique against the Megarensians, though the pretext he availed himself of in public was, that they had applied to profane uses certain parcels of sacred ground; and thereupon he procured a decree for an herald to be sent to Megara and Lacedæmon to lay this charge against the Megarensians. This decree was drawn up in a candid and conciliating manner. But Anthemocritus, the herald sent with that commission, losing his life by the way, through some treachery (as was supposed) of the Megarensians, Charinus procured a decree, that an implacable and eternal enmity should subsist between the Athenians and them; that if any Megarensian should set foot on Attic ground, he should be put to death; that to the oath which their generals used to take this particular should be added,

that they would twice a year make an inroad into the territories of Megara; and that Anthemocritus should be buried at the Thriasian gate, now called Dipylus.

The Megarensians, however, deny their being concerned in the murder of Anthemocritus, and lay the war entirely at the door of Aspasia and Pericles; alleging in proof those well-known verses from the *Acharnensis* of Aristophanes—

> "The god of wine had with his thyrsus smote
> Some youths, who in their madness stole from Megara
> The courtezan Simætha: in revenge
> Two females liberal of their smiles were stolen
> From our Aspasia's train."

It is not, indeed, easy to discover what was the real origin of the war; but at the same time all agree it was the fault of Pericles that the decree against Megara was not annulled. Some say his firmness in that case was the effect of his prudence and magnanimity, as he considered that demand only as a trial, and thought the least concession would be understood as an acknowledgment of weakness: but others will have it that his treating the Lacedæmonians with so little ceremony was owing to his obstinacy and an ambition to display his power.

But the worst cause of all assigned for the war, and which, notwithstanding, is confirmed by most historians, is as follows:—Phidias the statuary had undertaken (as we have said) the statue of Minerva. The friendship and influence he had with Pericles exposed him to envy, and procured him many enemies, who, willing to make an experiment upon him what judgment the people might pass upon Pericles himself, persuaded Menon, one of Phidias's workmen, to place himself as a suppliant in the

forum, and to entreat the protection of the republic while he lodged an information against Phidias.

The people granting his request, and the affair coming to a public trial, the allegation of theft, which Menon brought against him, was shown to be groundless ; for Phidias, by the advice of Pericles, had managed the matter from the first with so much art, that the gold with which the statue was overlaid could easily be taken off and weighed ; and Pericles ordered this to be done by the accusers. But the excellence of his work, and the envy arising thence, was the thing that ruined Phidias ; and it was particularly insisted upon that in this representation of the battle with the Amazons upon Minerva's shield, he had introduced his own effigies as a bald old man taking up a great stone with both hands, and a high-finished picture of Pericles fighting with an Amazon. The last was contrived with so much art that the hand which, in lifting up the spear, partly covered the face, seemed to be intended to conceal the likeness, which yet was very striking on both sides. Phidias, therefore, was thrown into prison, where he died a natural death ; though some say poison was given him by his enemies, who were desirous of causing Pericles to be suspected. As for the accuser Menon, he had an immunity from taxes granted him at the motion of Glycon, and the generals were ordered to provide for his security.

About this time Aspasia was prosecuted for impiety by Hermippus, a comic poet, who likewise accused her of receiving into her house women above the condition of slaves, for the pleasure of Pericles. And Diopithes procured a decree, that those who disputed the existence of the gods, or introduced new opinions about celestial appearances, should be tried before an assembly of the

people. This charge was levelled first at Anaxagoras, and through him at Pericles. And as the people admitted it, another decree was proposed by Dracontides, that Pericles should give an account of the public money before the Prytanes, and that the judges should take the ballots from the altar, and try the cause in the city. But Agnon caused the last article to be dropped, and instead thereof, it was voted that the action should be laid before the fifteen hundred judges, either for peculation and taking of bribes, or simply for corrupt practices.

Aspasia was acquitted, though much against the tenor of the law, by means of Pericles, who (according to Æschines) shed many tears in his application for mercy for her. He did not expect the same indulgence for Anaxagoras, and therefore caused him to quit the city, and conducted him part of the way. And as he himself was become obnoxious to the people upon Phidias's account, and was afraid of being called in question for it, he urged on the war, which as yet was uncertain, and blew up that flame which till then was stifled and suppressed. By this means he hoped to obviate the accusations that threatened him, and to mitigate the rage of envy, because such was his dignity and power, that in all important affairs, and in every great danger, the republic could place its confidence in him alone. These are said to be the reasons which induced him to persuade the people not to grant the demands of the Lacedæmonians: but what was the real cause is quite uncertain.

The Lacedæmonians, persuaded that if they could remove Pericles out of the way they should be better able to manage the Athenians, required them to banish all execrable persons from among them: and Pericles (as Thucydides informs us) was by his mother's side related

to those that were pronounced execrable in the affair of Cylon. The success, however, of this application proved the reverse of what was expected by those that ordered it. Instead of rendering Pericles suspected or involving him in trouble, it procured him more confidence and respect from the people when they perceived that their enemies both hated and dreaded him above all others. For the same reason he forewarned the Athenians that if Archidamus, when he entered Attica at the head of the Peloponnesians and ravaged the rest of the country, should share his estate, it must be owing either to the rights of hospitality that subsisted between them, or to a design to furnish his enemies with matter of slander, and therefore from that hour he gave his lands and houses to the city of Athens. The Lacedæmonians and confederates accordingly invaded Attica with a great army, under the conduct of Archidamus: and laying waste all before them, proceeded as far as Acharnæ, where they encamped, expecting that the Athenians would not be able to endure them so near, but meet them in the field, for the honour and safety of their country. But it appeared to Pericles too hazardous to give battle to an army of sixty thousand men (for such was the number of the Peloponnesians and Bœotians employed in the first expedition), and by that step to risk no less than the preservation of the city itself. As to those that were eager for an engagement, and uneasy at his slow proceedings, he endeavoured to bring them to reason by observing, "That trees, when lopped, will soon grow again; but when men are cut off, the loss is not easily repaired."

In the meantime he took care to hold no assembly of the people, lest he should be forced to act against his own opinion. But as a good pilot, when a storm arises at

sea, gives his directions, gets his tackle in order, and then uses his art, regardless of the tears and entreaties of the sick and fearful passengers; so Pericles, when he had secured the gates, and placed the guards in every quarter to the best advantage, followed the dictates of his own understanding, unmoved by the clamours and complaints that resounded in his ears. Thus firm he remained, notwithstanding the importunity of his friends and the threats and accusations of his enemies, notwithstanding the many scoffs and songs sung to vilify his character as a general, and to represent him as one who, in the most dastardly manner, betrayed his country to the enemy. Cleon, too, attacked him with great acrimony, making use of the general resentment against Pericles as a means to increase his own popularity, as Hermippus testifies in these verses:

> "Sleeps, then, thou king of satyrs, sleeps the spear,
> While thundering words make war? Why boast thy prowess,
> Yet shudder at the sound of sharpened swords,
> Spite of the flaming Cleon?"

Pericles, however, regarded nothing of this kind, but calmly and silently bore all this disgrace and virulence. And though he fitted out a hundred ships and sent them against Peloponnesus, yet he did not sail with them, but chose to stay and watch over the city, and keep the reins of government in his own hands until the Peloponnesians were gone. In order to satisfy the common people, who were very uneasy on account of the war, he made a distribution of money and lands, for having expelled the inhabitants of Ægina, he divided the island by lot among the Athenians. Besides, the sufferings of the enemy afforded them some consolation. The fleet

sent against Peloponnesus ravaged a large tract of country, and sacked the small towns and villages, and Pericles himself made a descent upon the territories of Megara, which he laid waste. Whence it appears, that though the Peloponnesians greatly distressed the Athenians by land, yet as they were equally distressed by sea, they could not have drawn out the war to so great a length, but must soon have given it up (as Pericles foretold from the beginning), had not some divine power prevented the effect of human counsels. A pestilence at that time broke out, which destroyed the flower of the youth and the strength of Athens. And not only their bodies, but their very minds were affected; for, as persons delirious with a fever set themselves against a physician or a father, so they raved against Pericles, and attempted his ruin, being persuaded by his enemies that the sickness was occasioned by the multitude of outdwellers flocking into the city, and a number of people stuffed together, in the height of summer, in small huts and close cabins, where they were forced to live a lazy, inactive life, instead of breathing the pure and open air to which they had been accustomed. They would needs have it that he was the cause of all this, who, when the war began, admitted within the walls such crowds of people from the country, and yet found no employment for them, but let them continue penned up like cattle, to infect and destroy each other, without affording them the least relief or refreshment.

Desirous to remedy this calamity, and withal in some degree to annoy the enemy, he manned a hundred and fifty ships, on which he embarked a great number of select horse and foot, and was preparing to set sail. The Athenians conceived good hopes of success, and the

enemy no less dreaded so great an armament. The whole fleet was in readiness, and Pericles on board his own galley, when there happened an eclipse of the sun. This sudden darkness was looked upon as an unfavourable omen, and threw them into the greatest consternation. Pericles, observing that the pilot was much astonished and perplexed, took his cloak, and having covered his eyes with it, asked him, "If he found anything terrible in that, or considered it as a sad presage?" Upon his answering in the negative, he said, "Where is the difference, then, between this and the other, except that something bigger than my cloak causes the eclipse?" But this is a question which is discussed in the schools of philosophy.

In this expedition Pericles performed nothing worthy of so great an equipment. He laid siege to the sacred city of Epidaurus, and at first with some rational hopes of success; but the distemper which prevailed in his army broke all his measures, for it not only carried off his own men, but all that had intercourse with them. As this ill-success set the Athenians against him, he endeavoured to console them under their losses, and to animate them to new attempts. But it was not in his power to mitigate their resentment, nor could they be satisfied until they had showed themselves masters by voting that he should be deprived of the command and pay a fine, which, by the lowest account, was fifteen talents; some make it fifty. The person that carried on the prosecution against him was Cleon, as Idomeneus tells us; or, according to Theophrastus, Simmias; or Lacratides, if we believe Heraclides of Pontus.

The public ferment, indeed, soon subsided, the people quitting their resentment with that blow, as a bee leaves

its sting in the wound ; but his private affairs were in a miserable condition, for he had lost a number of his relations in the plague, and a misunderstanding had prevailed for some time in his family. Xanthippus, the eldest of his legitimate sons, was naturally profuse, and besides had married a young and expensive wife, daughter to Isander, and grand-daughter to Epylicus. He knew not how to brook his father's frugality, who supplied him but sparingly and with a little at a time, and therefore sent to one of his friends, and took up money in the name of Pericles. When the man came to demand his money, Pericles not only refused to pay him, but even prosecuted him for the demand. Xanthippus was so highly enraged at this, that he began openly to abuse his father. First he exposed and ridiculed the company he kept in his house, and the conversations he held with the philosophers. He said that Epitimius, the Pharsalian, having undesignedly killed a horse with a javelin which he threw at the public games, his father spent a whole day in disputing with Protagoras, which might be properly deemed the cause of his death, the javelin, or the man that threw it, or the president of the games. Stesimbrotus adds that it was Xanthippus who spread the vile report concerning his own wife and Pericles, and that the young man retained this implacable hatred against his father to his latest breath. He was carried off by the plague. Pericles lost his sister too at that time, and the greatest part of his relations and friends, who were most capable of assisting him in the business of the state. Notwithstanding these misfortunes, he lost not his dignity of sentiment and greatness of soul. He neither wept, nor performed any funeral rites, nor was he seen at the grave of any of his nearest relations, until

the death of Paralus, his last surviving legitimate son. This at last subdued him. He attempted, indeed, then to keep up his usual calm behaviour and serenity of mind, but, in putting the garland upon the head of the deceased, his firmness forsook him; he could not bear the sad spectacle; he broke out into loud lamentation, and shed a torrent of tears—a passion which he had never before given way to.

Athens made a trial, in the course of a year, of the rest of her generals and orators, and finding none of sufficient weight and authority for so important a charge, she once more turned her eyes on Pericles, and invited him to take upon him the direction of affairs, both military and civil. He had for some time shut himself up at home to indulge his sorrow, when Alcibiades and his other friends persuaded him to make his appearance. The people making an apology for their ungenerous treatment of him, he re-assumed the reins of government, and being appointed general, his first step was to procure the repeal of the law concerning bastards, of which he himself had been the author, for he was afraid that his name and family would be extinct for want of a successor. The history of that law is as follows:—Many years before, Pericles, in the height of his power, and having several legitimate sons (as we have already related), caused a law to be made, that none should be accounted citizens of Athens but those whose parents were both Athenians. After this, the king of Egypt made the Athenians a present of forty thousand medimni of wheat, and as this was to be divided among the citizens, many persons were proceeded against as illegitimate upon that law, whose birth had never before been called in question, and many were disgraced upon false accusa-

tions. Near five thousand were cast and sold for slaves, and fourteen thousand and forty appeared to be entitled to the privilege of citizens. Though it was unequitable and strange that a law, which had been put in execution with so much severity, should be repealed by the man who first proposed it, yet the Athenians, moved at the late misfortunes in his family, by which he seemed to have suffered the punishment of his arrogance and pride, and thinking he should be treated with humanity after he had felt the wrath of Heaven, permitted him to enrol a natural son in his own tribe, and to give him his own name. This is he who afterwards defeated the Peloponnesians in a sea-fight at Arginusæ, and was put to death by the people, together with his colleagues.

About this time Pericles was seized with the plague, but not with such acute and continued symptoms as it generally shows. It was rather a lingering distemper, which, with frequent intermissions, and by slow degrees, consumed his body, and impaired the vigour of his mind. Theophrastus has a disquisition in his Ethics, whether men's characters may be changed with their fortune, and the soul so affected with the disorders of the body as to lose her virtue ; and there he relates, that Pericles showed to a friend, who came to visit him in his sickness, an amulet which the woman had hung about his neck, intimating that he must be sick indeed, since he submitted to so ridiculous a piece of superstition.

When he was at the point of death, his surviving friends and the principal citizens sitting about his bed, discoursed together concerning his extraordinary virtue and the great authority he had enjoyed, and enumerated his various exploits, and the number of his victories : for while he was commander-in-chief he had erected no less

than nine trophies to the honour of Athens. These things they talked of, supposing that he attended not to what they said, but that his senses were gone. He took notice, however, of every word they had spoken, and thereupon delivered himself audibly as follows: "I am surprised, that while you dwell upon and extol those acts of mine, though fortune had her share in them and many other generals have performed the like, you take no notice of the greatest and most honourable part of my character, that no Athenian, through my means, ever put on mourning."

Pericles undoubtedly deserved admiration, not only for the candour and moderation which he ever retained amidst the distractions of business and the rage of his enemies, but for that noble sentiment which led him to think it his most excellent attainment never to have given way to envy or anger, notwithstanding the greatness of his power, nor to have nourished an implacable hatred against his greatest foe. In my opinion, this one thing, I mean his mild and dispassionate behaviour, his unblemished integrity, and irreproachable conduct during his whole administration, makes his appellation of Olympius, which would otherwise be vain and absurd, no longer exceptionable, nay, gives it a propriety. Thus, we think, the divine powers, as the authors of all good, and naturally incapable of producing evil, worthy to rule and preside over the universe. Not in the manner which the poets relate, who, while they endeavoured to bewilder us by their irrational opinions, stand convicted of inconsistency by their own writing. For they represent the place which the gods inhabit, as the region of security and the most perfect tranquillity, unapproached by storms and unsullied with clouds, where a sweet serenity for

ever reigns, and a pure ether displays itself without interruption; and these they think mansions suitable to a blessed and immortal nature. Yet, at the same time, they represent the gods themselves as full of anger, malevolence, hatred, and other passions, unworthy even of a reasonable man. But this by-the-bye.

The state of public affairs soon showed the want of Pericles, and the Athenians openly expressed their regret for his loss. Even those, who, in his lifetime, could but ill brook his superior power, as thinking themselves eclipsed by it, yet upon a trial of other orators and demagogues, after he was gone, soon acknowledged that where severity was required, no man was ever more moderate, or if mildness was necessary, no man better kept up his dignity than Pericles. And his so much envied authority which they had given the name of monarchy and tyranny, then appeared to have been the bulwark of the state. So much corruption and such rage of wickedness broke out upon the commonwealth after his death, which he by proper restraints had palliated and kept from dangerous and destructive extremities.

FABIUS MAXIMUS.

SUCH were the memorable actions of Pericles, as far as we have been able to collect them : and now we proceed to the life of Fabius Maximus.

The first Fabius was the son of Hercules by one of the nymphs, according to some authors ; or, as others say, by a woman of the country, near the river Tiber. From him came the family of the Fabii, one of the most numerous and illustrious in Rome. Yet some authors write that the first founders of this family were called Fodii, on account of their catching wild beasts by means of pits ; for a pit is still in Latin called *fovea*, and the word *fodere* signifies to dig ; but in time two letters being changed, they had the name Fabii. This family produced many eminent men, the most considerable of whom was Rullus, by the Romans surnamed Maximus, or the Great, and from him, the Fabius Maximus of whom we are writing, was the fourth in descent.

This last had the surname of Verrucosus from a small wart on his upper lip. He was likewise called Ovicula from the mildness and gravity of his behaviour when a boy. Nay, his composed demeanour and his silence, his caution in engaging in the diversions of other boys, the slowness and difficulty with which he took what was taught him, together with the submissive manner in which he complied with the proposals of his comrades,

brought him under the suspicion of stupidity and foolishness, with those that did not thoroughly know him. Yet a few there were who perceived that his composedness was owing to the solidity of his parts, and who discerned withal a magnanimity and lion-like courage in his nature. In a short time, when application to business drew him out, it was obvious, even to the many, that his seeming inactivity was a command which he had of his passions, that his cautiousness was prudence, and that what had passed for heaviness and insensibility was really an immovable firmness of the soul. He saw what an important concern the administration was, and in what wars the republic was frequently engaged, and therefore, by exercise prepared his body, considering its strength as natural armour; at the same time he improved his powers of persuasion, as the engines by which the people are to be moved, and adapting them to the manner of his life. For in his eloquence there was nothing of affectation, no empty plausible eloquence, but it was full of that good sense which was peculiar to him, and had a sententious force and depth, said to have resembled that of Thucydides. There is an oration of his still extant, which he delivered before the people on occasion of his son's funeral, who died after he had been consul.

Fabius Maximus was five times consul; and in his first consulship was honoured with a triumph for the victory he gained over the Ligurians; who being defeated by him in a set battle, with the loss of a great number of men, were driven behind the Alps, and kept from such inroads and ravages as they had used to make in the neighbouring provinces.

Some years after, Hannibal, having invaded Italy and gained the battle of Trebia, advanced through Tuscany,

laying waste the country, and striking Rome itself with terror and astonishment. This desolation was announced by signs and prodigies, some familiar to the Romans, as that of thunder for instance, and others quite strange and unaccountable. For it was said that certain shields sweated blood, that bloody corn was cut at Antium, that red-hot stones fell from the air, that the Falerians saw the heavens open, and many billets fall, upon one of which were very legible, "Mars brandisheth his arms." But Caius Flaminius, then consul, was not discouraged by any of these things. He was indeed naturally a man of much fire and ambition, and besides was elated by former successes which he had met with contrary to all probability: for against the sense of the senate and his colleague, he had engaged with the Gauls and beaten them. Fabius likewise paid but little regard to prodigies, as too absurd to be believed, notwithstanding the great effect they had upon the multitude. But being informed how small the numbers of the enemy were, and of the want of money, he advised the Romans to have patience; not to give battle to a man who led on an army hardened by many conflicts for this very purpose, but to send succours to their allies, and to secure the towns that were in their possession, until the vigour of the enemy expired of itself, like a flame for want of fuel.

He could not, however, prevail upon Flaminius. That general declared he would never suffer the war to approach Rome, nor like Camillus of old, dispute within the walls who should be master of the city. He, therefore, ordered the tribunes to draw out the forces, and mounted his horse, but was thrown headlong off, the horse without any visible cause being seized with a fright and trembling. Yet he persisted in his resolution of marching

out to meet Hannibal, and drew up his army near the lake called Thrasymenus, in Tuscany.

While the armies were engaged, there happened an earthquake, which overturned whole cities, changed the course of rivers, and tore off the tops of mountains; yet not one of the combatants was in the least sensible of that violent motion. Flaminius himself, having greatly signalised his strength and valour, fell; and with him the bravest of his troops; the rest being routed, a great carnage ensued: full fifteen thousand were slain, and as many taken prisoners. Hannibal was very desirous of discovering the body of Flaminius, that he might bury it with due honour, as a tribute to his bravery, but he could not find it, nor could any account be given what became of it.

When the Romans lost the battle of Trebia, neither of the generals sent a true account of it, nor did the messenger represent it as it was: both pretended the victory was doubtful. But as to the last, as soon as the prætor Pomponius was apprised of it, he assembled the people, and without disguising the matter in the least, made this declaration, "Romans, we have lost a great battle, our army is cut to pieces, and Flaminius the consul is slain; think, therefore, what is to be done for your safety." The same commotion which a furious wind causes in the ocean, did these words of the prætor produce on so vast a multitude. In the first consternation they could not fix upon anything: but at length all agreed that affairs required the direction of an absolute power, which they called the dictatorship, and that a man should be pitched upon for it, who would exercise it with steadiness and intrepidity. That such a man was Fabius Maximus, who had a spirit and dignity of

manners equal to so great a command, and besides was of an age in which the vigour of the body is sufficient to execute the purposes of the mind, and courage is tempered with prudence.

Pursuant to these resolutions, Fabius was chosen dictator, and he appointed Lucius Minucius his general of the horse. But first he desired permission of the senate to make use of a horse when in the field; this was forbidden by an ancient law, either because they placed their greatest strength in the infantry, and therefore chose that the commander-in-chief should be always posted among them; or else because they would have the dictator, whose power in all other respects was very great and indeed arbitrary, in this case at least appear to be dependent upon the people. In the next place, Fabius, willing to show the high authority and grandeur of his office, in order to make the people more tractable and submissive, appeared in public with twenty-four lictors carrying the Fasces before him; and when the surviving consul met him, he sent one of his officers to order him to dismiss his lictors and the other ensigns of his employment, and to join him as a private man.

Then beginning with an act of religion, which is the best of all beginnings, and assuring the people that their defeats were not owing to the cowardice of the soldiers, but to the general's neglect of the sacred rites and auspices, he exhorted them to entertain no dread of the enemy, but by extraordinary honours to propitiate the gods. Not that he wanted to infuse into them a spirit of superstition, but to confirm their valour by piety, and to deliver them from every other fear by a sense of the Divine protection. On that occasion he consulted several of those mysterious books of the Sibyls, which

contained matters of great use to the state ; and it is said, that some of the prophecies found there perfectly agreed with the circumstances of those times ; but it was not lawful for him to divulge them. However, in full assembly, he vowed to the gods a *ver sacrum*, that is, all the young which the next spring should produce on the mountains, the fields, the rivers, and meadows of Italy, from the goats, the swine, the sheep, and the cows. He likewise vowed to exhibit the great games in honour of the gods, and to expend upon those games three hundred and thirty-three thousand sesterces, three hundred and thirty-three denarii, and one-third of a denarius ; which sum in our Greek money is eighty-three thousand five hundred and eighty-three drachmas and two oboli. What his reason might be for fixing upon that precise number is not easy to determine, unless it were on account of the perfection of the number three, as being the first of odd numbers, the first of plurals, and containing in itself the first differences, and the first elements of all numbers.

Fabius having taught the people to repose themselves on acts of religion, made them more easy as to future events. For his own part, he placed all his hopes of victory in himself, believing that heaven blesses men with success on account of their virtue and prudence ; and therefore he watched the motions of Hannibal, not with a design to give him battle, but by length of time to waste his spirit and vigour, and gradually to destroy him by means of his superiority in men and money. To secure himself against the enemy's horse, he took care to encamp above them on high and mountainous places. When they sat still he did the same ; when they were in motion he showed himself upon the heights, at such a distance as not to be obliged to fight against his inclina-

tion, and yet near enough to keep them in perpetual alarm, as if, amidst his arts to gain time, he intended every moment to give them battle.

These dilatory proceedings exposed him to contempt among the Romans in general, and even in his own army. The enemy, too, excepting Hannibal, thought him a man of no spirit. He alone was sensible of the keenness of Fabius, and of the manner in which he intended to carry on the war, and therefore was determined, if possible, either by stratagem or force, to bring him to battle, concluding that otherwise the Carthaginians must be undone, since they could not decide the matter in the field where they had the advantage, but must gradually wear away and be reduced to nothing, when the dispute was only who should be superior in men and money. Hence it was that he exhausted the whole art of war; like a skilful wrestler who watches every opportunity to lay hold of his adversary. Sometimes he advanced and alarmed him with the apprehensions of an attack; sometimes by marching and counter-marching he led him from place to place, hoping to draw him from his plan of caution. But as he was fully persuaded of its utility, he kept immovable to his resolution. Minucius, his general of horse, gave him, however, no small trouble by his unseasonable courage and heat, haranguing the army, and filling them with a furious desire to come to action and a vain confidence of success. Thus the soldiers were brought to despise Fabius, and by way of derision to call him the pedagogue of Hannibal, while they extolled Minucius as a great man and one that acted up to the dignity of Rome. This led Minucius to give a freer scope to his arrogance and pride, and to ridicule the dictator for encamping constantly upon the mountains, "As if he did

it on purpose that his men might more clearly behold Italy laid waste with fire and sword." And he asked the friends of Fabius "Whether he intended to take his army up into heaven, as he had bid adieu to the world below, or whether he would screen himself from the enemy with clouds and fogs?" When the dictator's friends brought him an account of these aspersions, and exhorted him to wipe them off by risking a battle: "In that case," said he, "I should be of a more dastardly spirit than they represent me, if through fear of insults and reproaches I should depart from my own resolution. But to fear for my country is not a disagreeable fear. That man is unworthy of such a command as this who shrinks under calumnies and slanders, and complies with the humour of those whom he ought to govern and whose folly and rashness it is his duty to restrain."

After this, Hannibal made a disagreeable mistake. For intending to lead his army farther from Fabius, and to move into a part of the country that would afford him forage, he ordered the guides, immediately after supper, to conduct him to the plains of Casinum. They taking the word wrong, by reason of his barbarous pronunciation of it, led his forces to the borders of Campania, near the town of Casalinum, through which runs the river Lothronus, which the Romans call Vulturnus. The adjacent country is surrounded with mountains, except only a valley that stretches out to the sea. Near the sea the ground is very marshy, and full of large banks of sand, by reason of the overflowing of the river. The sea is there very rough, and the coast almost impracticable.

As soon as Hannibal was entered into this valley Fabius availing himself of his knowledge of the country seized the narrow outlet, and placed in it a guard of four

thousand men. The main body of his army he posted to advantage on the surrounding hills, and with the lightest and most active of his troops fell upon the enemy's rear, put their whole army in disorder, and killed about eight hundred of them.

Hannibal then wanted to get clear of so disadvantageous a situation, and, in revenge of the mistake the guides had made, and the danger they had brought him into, he crucified them all. But not knowing how to drive the enemy from the heights they were masters of, and sensible, besides, of the terror and confusion that reigned amongst his men, who concluded themselves fallen into a snare from which there was no escaping, he had recourse to stratagem.

The contrivance was this:—He caused two thousand oxen, which he had in his camp, to have torches and dry bavins well fastened to their horns. These in the night, upon a signal given, were to be lighted, and the oxen to be driven to the mountains, near the narrow pass that was guarded by the enemy. While those that had it in charge were thus employed, he decamped and marched slowly forward. So long as the fire was moderate, and burned only the torches and bavins, the oxen moved softly on, as they were driven up the hills; and the shepherds and herdsmen on the adjacent heights took them for an army that marched in order with lighted torches. But when their horns were burnt to the roots, and the fire pierced to the quick, terrified and mad with pain, they no longer kept any certain route, but ran up the hills, with their foreheads and tails flaming, and setting everything on fire that came in their way. The Romans who guarded the pass were astonished; for they appeared to them like a great number of men running up

and down with torches, which scattered fire on every side. In their fears, of course, they concluded that they should be attacked and surrounded by the enemy, for which reason they quitted the pass, and fled to the main body in the camp. Immediately Hannibal's light-armed troops took possession of the outlet, and the rest of his forces marched safely through, loaded with a rich booty.

Fabius discovered the stratagem that same night, for some of the oxen, as they were scattered about, fell into his hands; but for fear of an ambush in the dark he kept his men all night under arms in the camp. At break of day he pursued the enemy, came up with their rear, and attacked them; several skirmishes ensued in the difficult passes of the mountains, and Hannibal's army was put in some disorder, until he detached from his van a body of Spaniards, light and nimble men, who were accustomed to climb such heights. These falling upon the heavy-armed Romans, cut off a considerable number of them, and obliged Fabius to retire. This brought upon him more contempt and calumny than ever; for having renounced open force, as if he could subdue Hannibal by conduct and foresight, he appeared now to be worsted at his own weapons. Hannibal, to incense the Romans still more against him, when he came to his lands, ordered them to be spared, and set a guard upon them to prevent the committing of the least injury there, while he was ravaging all the country around him and laying it waste with fire. An account of these things being brought to Rome, heavy complaints were made thereupon. The tribunes alleged many articles of accusation against him before the people, chiefly at the instigation of Metilius, who had no particular enmity to Fabius, but being strongly in the

interest of Minucius, the general of the horse, whose relation he was, he thought by depressing Fabius to raise his friend. The senate, too, was offended, particularly with the terms he had settled with Hannibal for the ransom of prisoners. For it was agreed between them that the prisoners should be exchanged, man for man, and that if either of them had more than the other, he should release them for two hundred and fifty drachmas each man; and upon the whole account there remained two hundred and forty Romans unexchanged. The senate determined not to pay this ransom, and blamed Fabius as taking a step that was against the honour and interest of the state, in endeavouring to recover men whom cowardice had betrayed into the hands of the enemy.

When Fabius was informed of the resentment of his fellow-citizens, he bore it with invincible patience; but being short of money, and not choosing to deceive Hannibal, or to abandon his countrymen in their distress, he sent his son to Rome, with orders to sell part of his estate, and bring him the money immediately. This was punctually performed by his son, and Fabius redeemed the prisoners, several of whom afterwards offered to repay him, but his generosity would not permit him to accept it.

After this he was called to Rome by the priests, to assist at some of the solemn sacrifices, and therefore was obliged to leave the army to Minucius; but he both charged him as dictator, and used many arguments and entreaties with him as a friend, not to come to any kind of action. The pains he took were lost upon Minucius, for he immediately sought occasions to fight the enemy. And observing one day that Hannibal had sent out great part of his army to forage, he attacked those that were left behind and drove them within their entrenchments,

killing great numbers of them, so that they even feared he would storm their camp; and when the rest of the Carthaginian forces were returned, he retreated without loss. This success added to his temerity, and increased the ardour of the soldiers. The report of it soon reached Rome, and the advantage was represented as much greater than it really was. When Fabius was informed of it, he said he dreaded nothing more than the success of Minucius. But the people, mightily elated with the news, ran to the forum; and their tribune Metilius harangued them from the rostrum, highly extolling Minucius, and accusing Fabius now not of cowardice and want of spirit, but of treachery. He endeavoured also to involve the principal men in Rome in the same crime, alleging "that they had originally brought the war upon Italy, for the destruction of the common people, and had put the commonwealth under the absolute direction of one man, who by his slow proceedings gave Hannibal an opportunity to establish himself in the country, and to draw fresh forces from Carthage, in order to effect a total conquest of Italy."

Fabius disdained to make any defence against these allegations of the tribune; he only declared that "he would finish the sacrifice and other religious rites as soon as possible, that he might return to the army and punish Minucius for fighting contrary to his orders." This occasioned a great tumult among the people, who were alarmed at the danger of Minucius. For it is in the dictator's power to imprison and inflict capital punishment without form of trial; and they thought that the wrath of Fabius now provoked, though he was naturally very mild and patient, would prove heavy and implacable. But fear kept them all silent, except Metilius, whose

person, as tribune of the people, could not be touched (for the tribunes are the only officers of state that retain their authority after the appointing of a dictator). Metilius entreated, insisted, that the people should not give up Minucius to suffer, perhaps, what Manlius Torquatus caused his own son to suffer, whom he beheaded when crowned with laurel for his victory; but that they should take from Fabius his power to play the tyrant, and leave the direction of affairs to one who was both able and willing to save his country. The people, though much affected with this speech, did not venture to divest Fabius of the dictatorship, notwithstanding the odium he had incurred, but decreed that Minucius should share the command with him, and have equal authority in conducting the war, a thing never before practised in Rome. There was, however, another instance of it soon after upon the unfortunate action of Cannæ, for Marcus Junius the dictator being then in the field, they created another dictator, Fabius Buteo, to fill up the senate, many of whose members were slain in that battle. There was this difference, indeed, that Buteo had no sooner enrolled the new senators than he dismissed his lictors and the rest of his retinue, and mixed with the crowd, stopping some time in the forum about his own affairs as a private man.

When the people had thus invested Minucius with a power equal to that of the dictator, they thought they should find Fabius extremely humbled and dejected; but it soon appeared that they knew not the man. For he did not reckon their mistake any unhappiness to him; but as Diogenes, the philosopher, when one said, "They deride you," answered well, "But I am not derided;" accounting those only to be ridiculed who feel the ridi-

cule and are discomposed at it; so Fabius bore without emotion all that happened to himself, herein confirming that position in philosophy which affirms that "a wise and good man can suffer no disgrace." But he was under no small concern for the public on account of the unadvised proceedings of the people, who had put it in the power of a rash man to indulge his indiscreet ambition for military distinction. And apprehensive that Minucius, infatuated with ambition, might take some fatal step, he left Rome very privately.

Upon his arrival at the camp, he found the arrogance of Minucius grown to such a height, that it was no longer to be endured. Fabius, therefore, refused to comply with his demand of having the army under his orders every other day, and, instead of that, divided the forces with him, choosing rather to have the full command of a part than the direction of the whole by turns. He, therefore, took the first and fourth legions himself, leaving the second and third to Minucius; and the confederate forces were likewise equally divided.

Minucius valued himself highly upon this—that the power of the greatest and most arbitrary office in the state was controlled and reduced for his sake. But Fabius put him in mind, "That it was not Fabius whom he had to contend with, but Hannibal; that if he would, notwithstanding, consider his colleague as his rival, he must take care lest he who had so successfully carried his point with the people should one day appear to have their safety and interest less at heart than the man who had been so ill-treated by them." Minucius considering this as the effect of an old man's pique, and taking the troops that fell to his lot, marked out a separate camp for them. Hannibal was well informed of all that had

passed, and watched his opportunity to take advantage of it.

There was a hill betwixt him and the enemy, not difficult to take possession of, which yet would afford an army a very safe and commodious post. The ground about it, at a distance, seemed quite level and plain, though there were in it several ditches and hollows; and, therefore, though he might privately have seized that post with ease, yet he left it as a bait to draw the enemy to an engagement. But as soon as he saw Minucius parted from Fabius, he took an opportunity in the night to place a number of men in those ditches and hollows; and early in the morning he openly sent out a small party, as if designed to make themselves masters of the hill, but really to draw Minucius to dispute it with them. The event answered his expectation. For Minucius sent out his light-armed troops first, then the cavalry, and at last, when he saw Hannibal send reinforcements to his men upon the hill, he marched out with all his forces in order of battle, and attacked with great vigour the Carthaginians, who were marking out a camp upon the hill. The fortune of the day was doubtful, until Hannibal, perceiving that the enemy had fallen into the snare, and that their rear was open to the ambuscade, instantly gave the signal. Hereupon his men rushed out on all sides, and advancing with loud shouts, and cutting in pieces the hindmost ranks, they put the Romans in disorder and terror inexpressible. Even the spirit of Minucius began to shrink; and he looked first upon one officer and then upon another, but not one of them durst stand his ground; they all betook themselves to flight, and the flight itself proved fatal. For the Numidians, now victorious, galloped round the plain, and killed those whom they found dispersed

Fabius was not ignorant of the danger of his countrymen. Foreseeing what would happen, he kept his forces under arms, and took care to be informed how the action went on; nor did he trust to the reports of others, but he himself looked out from an eminence not far from his camp. When he saw the army of his colleague surrounded and broken, and the cry reached him, not like that of men standing the charge, but of persons flying in great dismay, he smote upon his thigh, and, with a deep sigh, said to his friends about him: "Ye gods! how much sooner than I expected, and yet later than his indiscreet proceedings required, has Minucius ruined himself!" Then, having commanded the standard-bearers to advance, and the whole army to follow, he addressed them in these words: "Now, my brave soldiers, if any one has a regard for Marcus Minucius, let him exert himself, for he deserves assistance for his valour and the love he bears his country. If, in his haste to drive out the enemy, he has committed any error, this is not a time to find fault with him."

The first sight of Fabius frightened away the Numidians, who were picking up stragglers in the field. Then he attacked those who were charging the Romans in the rear. Such as made resistance he slew, but the greatest part retreated to their own army, before the communication was cut off, lest they should themselves be surrounded in their turn. Hannibal seeing this change of fortune, and finding that Fabius pushed on through the hottest of the battle with a vigour above his years, to come up to Minucius upon the hill, and, to put an end to the dispute, having sounded a retreat, retired into his camp. The Romans, on their part, were not sorry when the action was over. Hannibal, as he was drawing off, is reported

to have said smartly to those that were by, "Did not I often tell you that this cloud would one day burst upon us from the mountains with all the fury of a storm?"

After the battle, Fabius, having collected the spoils of such Carthaginians as were left dead upon the field, returned to his post; nor did he let fall one haughty or angry word against his colleague. As for Minucius, having called his men together, he thus expressed himself: "Friends and fellow-soldiers, not to err at all in the management of great affairs is above the wisdom of men; but it is the part of a prudent and good man to learn, from his errors and miscarriages, to correct himself for the future. For my part, I confess that though Fortune has frowned upon me a little, I have much to thank her for. For what I could not be brought to be sensible of in so long a time I have learned in the small compass of one day—that I know not how to command, but have need to be under the direction of another, and from this moment I bid adieu to the ambition of getting the better of a man whom it is an honour to be foiled by. In all other respects the dictator shall be your commander; but in the due expressions of gratitude to him, I will be your leader still, by being the first to show an example of obedience and submission."

He then ordered the ensigns to advance with the eagles, and the troops to follow, himself marching at their head, to the camp of Fabius. Being admitted, he went directly to his tent. The whole army waited with impatience for the event. When Fabius came out, Minucius fixed his standard before him, and, with a loud voice, saluted him by the name of Father; at the same time his soldiers called those of Fabius their Patrons, an appellation which freedmen give to those that enfranchise them. These

respects being paid, and silence taking place, Minucius thus addressed himself to the dictator: "You have this day, Fabius, obtained two victories, one over the enemy by your valour, the other over your colleague by your prudence and humanity. By the former you saved us, by the latter you have instructed us; and Hannibal's victory over us is not more disgraceful than yours is honourable and salutary to us. I call you Father, not knowing a more honourable name, and am more indebted to you than to my real father. To him I owe my being, but to you the preservation of my life and the lives of all these brave men." After this he threw himself into the arms of Fabius, and the soldiers of each army embraced one another with every expression of tenderness, and with tears of joy.

Not long after this Fabius laid down the dictatorship and consuls were created. The first of those kept to the plan which Fabius had laid down. He took care not to come to a pitched battle with Hannibal, but sent succours to the allies of Rome, and prevented any revolt in their cities. But when Terentius Varro, a man of obscure birth, and remarkable only for his temerity and servile complaisance to the people, rose to the consulship, it soon appeared that his boldness and inexperience would bring him to risk the very being of the commonwealth. For he loudly insisted in the assemblies of the people, that the war stood still whilst it was under the conduct of the Fabii; but for his part he would take but one day to get sight of the enemy and to beat him. With these promises he so prevailed on the multitude, that he raised greater forces than Rome had ever on foot before in her most dangerous wars; for he mustered no fewer than eighty-eight thousand men. Hereupon Fabius and other

wise and experienced persons among the Romans were greatly alarmed, because they saw no resource for the state, if such a number of their youth should be cut off. They addressed themselves, therefore, to the other consul, Paulus Æmilius, a man of great experience in war, but disagreeable to the people, and at the same time afraid of them, for they had formerly set a considerable fine upon him. Fabius, however, encouraged him to withstand the temerity of his colleague, telling him, "That the dispute he had to support for his country was not so much with Hannibal as with Varro. The latter," said he, "will hasten to an engagement because he knows not his own strength; and the former because he knows his own weakness. But, believe me, Æmilius, I deserve more attention than Varro, with respect to the affairs of Hannibal; and I do assure you, that if the Romans come to no battle with him this year, he will either be undone by his stay in Italy, or else be obliged to quit it. Even now, when he seems to be victorious, and to carry all before him, not one of his enemies has quitted the Roman interest, and not a third part of the forces remains which he brought from home with him." To this Æmilius is said to have answered, "My friend, when I consider myself only, I conclude it better for me to fall upon the weapons of the enemy than by the sentence of my own countrymen. However, since the state of public affairs is so critical, I will endeavour to approve myself a good general, and had rather appear such to you than to all who oppose you, and would draw me willing or unwilling to their party." With these sentiments Æmilius began his operations.

But Varro, having brought his colleague to agree that they should command alternately each his day, when

his turn came, took post over against Hannibal, on the banks of the Aufidus, near the village of Cannæ. As soon as it was light he gave the signal for battle, which is a red mantle set up over the general's tent. The Carthaginians were a little disheartened at first when they saw how daring the consul was, and that his army was more than twice their number. But Hannibal having ordered them to arm, himself, with a few others, rode up to an eminence, to take a view of the enemy now drawn up for battle. One Gisco that accompanied him, a man of his own rank, happening to say, "The numbers of the enemy appeared to him surprising," Hannibal replied, with a serious countenance, "There is another thing which has escaped your observation much more surprising than that." Upon his asking what it was, "It is," said he, "that among such numbers not one of them is named Gisco." The whole company were diverted with the humour of his observation ; and as they returned to the camp, they told the jest to those they met, so that the laugh became universal. At sight of this the Carthaginians took courage, thinking it must proceed from the great contempt in which their general held the Romans, that he could jest and laugh in the face of danger.

In this battle Hannibal gave great proofs of generalship. In the first place, he took advantage of the ground, to post his men with their backs to the wind, which was then very violent and scorching, and drove from the dry plains, over the heads of the Carthaginians, clouds of sand and dust into the eyes and nostrils of the Romans, so that they were obliged to turn away their faces and break their ranks. In the next place, his troops were drawn up with superior art. He placed the flower of them in the wings, and those upon whom he had less

dependence in the main corps, which was considerably more advanced than the wings. Then he commanded those in the wings, that when the enemy had charged and vigorously pushed that advanced body, which he knew would give way, and open a passage for them to the very centre, and when the Romans by this means should be far enough engaged within the two wings, they should both on the right and left take them in flank, and endeavour to surround them. This was the principal cause of the great carnage that followed, for the enemy pressing upon Hannibal's front, which gave ground, the form of his army was changed into a half-moon; and the officers of the select troops caused the two points of the wings to join behind the Romans. Thus they were exposed to the attacks of the Carthaginians on all sides; an incredible slaughter followed; nor did any escape but the few that retreated before the main body was enclosed.

It is also said that a strange and fatal accident happened to the Roman cavalry, for the horse which Æmilius rode, having received some hurt, threw him; and those about him alighting to assist and defend the consul on foot, the rest of the cavalry, seeing this, and taking it for a sign for them to do the same, all quitted their horses, and charged on foot. At sight of this, Hannibal said, "This pleases me better than if they had been delivered to me bound hand and foot." But the particulars may be found at large in the historians who have described this battle.

As to the consuls, Varro escaped with a few horse to Venutia; and Æmilius, covered with darts which stuck in his wounds, sat down in anguish and despair, waiting for the enemy to despatch him. His head and face were so disfigured and stained with blood that it was not easy

to know him; even his friends and servants passed by him without stopping. At last, Cornelius Lentulus, a young man of a patrician family, perceiving who he was, dismounted, and entreated him to take his horse, and save himself for the commonwealth, which had then more occasion than ever for so good a consul. But nothing could prevail upon him to accept of the offer, and, notwithstanding the young man's tears, he obliged him to mount his horse again. Then rising up, and taking him by the hand, "Tell Fabius Maximus," said he, "and, Lentulus, do you yourself be witness, that Paulus Æmilius followed his directions to the last, and did not deviate in the least from the plan agreed upon between them, but was first overcome by Varro, and then by Hannibal." Having despatched Lentulus with this commission, he rushed among the enemy's swords, and was slain. Fifty thousand Romans are said to have fallen in this battle, and four thousand to have been taken prisoners, besides ten thousand that were taken after the battle in both the camps.

After this great success, Hannibal's friends advised him to pursue his fortune, and to enter Rome along with the fugitives, assuring him that in five days he might sup in the capitol. It is not easy to conjecture what his reason was for not taking this step. Most probably some deity opposed it, and therefore inspired him with this hesitation and timidity. On this account it was that a Carthaginian, named Barca, said to him with some heat, "Hannibal, you know how to gain a victory, but not how to use it."

The battle of Cannæ, however, made such an alteration in his affairs, that though before it he had neither town, nor magazine, nor port in Italy, but without any regular

supplies for the war, subsisted his army by rapine, and for that purpose moved them, like a great band of robbers, from place to place, yet then he became master of the greatest part of Italy. Its best provinces and towns voluntarily submitted to him, and Capua itself, the most respectable city after Rome, threw its weight into his scale.

In this case it appeared that great misfortunes are not only, what Euripides calls them, a trial of the fidelity of a friend, but of the capacity and conduct of a general. For the proceedings of Fabius, which before this battle were deemed cold and timid, then appeared to be directed by counsels more than human, to be indeed the dictates of a divine wisdom, which penetrated into futurity at such a distance, and foresaw what seemed incredible to the very persons who experienced it. In him, therefore, Rome places her last hope; his judgment is the temple, the altar, to which she flies for refuge, believing that to his prudence it was chiefly owing that she still held up her head, and that her children were not dispersed, as when she was taken by the Gauls. For he, who in times of apparent security, seemed to be deficient in confidence and resolution, now when all abandoned themselves to inexpressible sorrow and helpless despair, alone walked about the city with a calm and easy pace, with a firm countenance, a mild and gracious address, checking their effeminate lamentations, and preventing them from assembling in public to bewail their common distress. He caused the Senate to meet; he encouraged the magistrates, himself being the soul of their body, for all waited his motion, and were ready to obey his orders. He placed a guard at the gates, to hinder such of the people as were inclined to fly from quitting the city. He fixed both the

place and time for mourning, allowing thirty days for that purpose in a man's own house, and no more for the city in general. And as the feast of Ceres fell within that time, it was thought better entirely to omit the solemnity, than by the small numbers and the melancholy looks of those that should attend it, to discover the greatness of their loss: for the worship most acceptable to the gods is that which comes from cheerful hearts. Indeed, whatever the augurs ordered for propitiating the divine powers, and averting inauspicious omens, was carefully performed. For Fabius Pictor, the near relation of Fabius Maximus, was sent to consult the oracle at Delphi; and of the two vestals who were then found guilty of a breach of their vow of chastity, one was buried alive, according to custom, and the other died by her own hand.

But what most deserves to be admired is the magnanimity and temper of the Romans, when the consul Varro returned after his defeat, much humbled and very melancholy, as one who had occasioned the greatest calamity and disgrace imaginable to the republic. The whole senate and people went to welcome him at the gates; and, when silence was commanded, the magistrates and principal senators, amongst whom was Fabius, commended him for giving up the circumstances of the state as desperate after so great a misfortune, but returning to take upon him the administration and to make what advantage he could for his country of the laws and citizens, as not being utterly lost and ruined.

When they found that Hannibal, after the battle, instead of marching to Rome, turned to another part of Italy, they took courage, and sent their armies and generals into the field. The most eminent of these were

Fabius Maximus and Claudius Marcellus, men distinguished by characters almost entirely opposite. Marcellus (as we have mentioned in his life) was a man of a buoyant and animated valour; remarkably well skilled in the use of weapons, and naturally enterprising, such an one, in short, as Homer calls lofty in heart, in courage fierce, in war delighting. So intrepid a general was very fit to be opposed to an enemy as daring as himself, to restore the courage and spirits of the Romans by some vigorous stroke in the first engagements. As for Fabius, he kept to his first sentiments, and hoped that if he only followed Hannibal close without fighting him, he and his army would wear themselves out and lose their warlike vigour, just as a wrestler does, who keeps continually in the ring and allows himself no repose to recruit his strength after excessive fatigues. Hence it was that the Romans (as Posidonius tells us) called Fabius their shield, and Marcellus their sword, and used to say that the steadiness and caution of the one, mixed with the vivacity and boldness of the other, made a compound very salutary to Rome. Hannibal, therefore, often meeting Marcellus, whose motions were like those of a torrent, found his forces broken and diminished; and by Fabius, who moved with a silent but constant stream, he was undermined and sensibly weakened. Such, at length, was the extremity he was reduced to, that he was tired of fighting Marcellus, and afraid of Fabius. And these were the persons he had generally to do with during the remainder of the war, as prætors, consuls, or proconsuls; for each of them was five times consul. It is true, Marcellus, in his fifth consulate, was drawn into his snares, and killed by means of an ambuscade. Hannibal often made the like attempts upon Fabius, exerting all his arts and stratagems, but

without effect. Once only he deceived him, and had nearly led him into a fatal error. He forged letters to him, as from the principal inhabitants of Metapontum, offering to deliver up the city to him, and assuring him that those who had taken this resolution only waited till he appeared before it. Fabius giving credit to these letters, ordered a party to be ready, intending to march thither in the night, but finding the auspices unpromising, he altered his design, and soon after discovered that the letters were forged by an artifice of Hannibal's, and that he was lying in ambush for him near the town. But this, perhaps, may be ascribed to the favour and protection of the gods.

Fabius was persuaded that it was better to keep the cities from revolting, and to prevent any commotions among the allies, by affability and mildness, than to entertain every suspicion, or to use severity against those whom he did suspect. It is reported of him, that being informed that a certain Marcian in his army, who was a man not inferior in courage or family among the allies, solicited some of his men to desert, he did not treat him harshly, but acknowledged that he had been too much neglected: declaring at the same time that he was now perfectly sensible how much his officers had been to blame in distributing honours more out of favour than regard to merit: and that for the future he should take it ill if he did not apply to him when he had any request to make. This was followed with a present of a war-horse, and with other marks of honour; and from that time the man behaved with great fidelity and zeal for the service. Fabius thought it hard, that, while those who breed dogs and horses soften their stubborn tempers, and bring down their fierce spirits by care and kindness, rather

than with whips and chains, he who has the command of men should not endeavour to correct their errors by gentleness and goodness, but treat them even in a harsher and more violent manner than gardeners do the wild fig-tree, wild pears, and olives, whose nature they subdue by cultivation, and which by that means they bring to produce very agreeable fruit.

Another time, some of his officers informed him that one of the soldiers, a native of Lucania, often quitted his post, and rambled out of the camp. Upon this report, he asked what kind of man he was in other respects; and they all declared it was not easy to find so good a soldier, doing him the justice to mention several extraordinary instances of his valour. On inquiring into the cause of this irregularity, he found that the man was passionately in love, and that for the sake of seeing a young woman he ventured out of the camp, and took a long and dangerous journey every night. Hereupon Fabius gave orders to some of his men to find out the woman, and convey her into his own tent, but took care that the Lucanian should not know it. Then he sent for him, and taking him aside, spoke to him as follows :—"I very well know that you have lain many nights out of the camp in breach of the Roman discipline and laws: at the same time I am not ignorant of your past services. In consideration of them, I forgive your present crime; but for the future I will give you in charge to a person who shall be answerable for you." While the soldier stood much amazed, Fabius produced the woman, and putting her in his hands, thus expressed himself: "This is the person who engages for you that you will remain in camp: and now we shall see whether there was not some traitorous design which drew you out, and which

you made the love of this woman a cloak for." Such is the account we have of this affair.

By means of another love affair Fabius recovered the city of Tarentum, which had been treacherously delivered up to Hannibal. A young man, a native of that place, who served under Fabius, had a sister there, who loved him with great tenderness. This youth being informed that a certain Brutian, one of the officers of the garrison which Hannibal had put in Tarentum, entertained a violent passion for his sister, hoped to avail himself of this circumstance to the advantage of the Romans. Therefore, with the permission of Fabius, he returned to his sister at Tarentum, under colour of having deserted. Some days passed, during which the Brutian forbore his visits, for she supposed that her brother knew nothing of the amour. This obliged the young man to come to an explanation. "It has been currently reported," said he, "that you receive addresses from a man of some distinction. Pray, who is he? If he is a man of honour and character, as they say he is, Mars, who confounds all things, takes but little thought of what country he may be. What necessity imposes is no disgrace; but we may rather think ourselves fortunate, at a time when justice yields to force, if that which force might compel us to, happens not to be disagreeable to our own inclinations." Thus encouraged, the young woman sent for the Brutian, and presented him to her brother. And as she behaved to him in a kinder and more complying manner through her brother's means, who was very indulgent to his passion, it was not very difficult to prevail with the Brutian, who was deeply in love, and was withal a mercenary, to deliver up the town, upon promises of great rewards from Fabius.

This is the account which most historians give us: yet some say, that the woman by whom the Brutian was gained was not a Tarentine, but a Brutian; that she had been concubine to Fabius; and that when she found the governor of Tarentum was her countryman and acquaintance, she told Fabius of it, and finding means, by approaching the walls, to make him a proposal, she drew him over to the Roman interest.

During these transactions, Fabius, in order to make a diversion, gave directions to the garrison of Rhegium to lay waste the Brutian territories, and, if possible, to make themselves masters of Caulonia. These were a body of eight thousand men, composed partly of deserters, and partly of the most worthless of that infamous band brought by Marcellus out of Sicily, and, therefore, the loss of them would not be great, nor much lamented by the Romans. These men he threw out as a bait for Hannibal, and by sacrificing them hoped to draw him to a distance from Tarentum. The design succeeded accordingly; for Hannibal marched with his forces to Caulonia, and Fabius in the meantime laid siege to Tarentum. The sixth day of the siege, the young man having settled the matter with the Brutian officer by means of his sister, and having well observed the place where he kept guard and promised to let in the Romans, went to Fabius by night, and gave him an account of it. The consul moved to the appointed quarter, though not entirely depending upon the promise that the town would be betrayed. There he himself sat still, but at the same time ordered an assault on every other part, both by sea and land. This was put in execution with great noise and tumult, which drew most of the Tarentians that way to assist the garrison, and repel the besiegers. Then the Brutian

giving Fabius the signal, he scaled the walls, and got possession of the town.

On this occasion Fabius seems to have indulged a criminal ambition. For that it might not appear that the place was betrayed to him, he ordered the Brutians to be put first to the sword. But he failed in his design, for the former suspicion still remained, and he incurred, besides, the reproach of perfidy and inhumanity. Many of the Tarentines also were killed; thirty thousand of them were sold for slaves. The army had the plunder of the town, and three thousand talents were brought into the public treasury. Whilst everything was ransacked, and the spoils were heaped before Fabius, it is reported that the officer who took the inventory asked—"What he would have them to do with the gods?" meaning the statues and pictures. Fabius answered, "Let us leave the Tarentines their angry gods." However, he carried away a colossus of Hercules, which he afterwards set up in the capitol, and near it an equestrian statue of himself in brass. Thus he showed himself inferior to Marcellus in his taste for the fine arts, and still more so in mercy and humanity. Marcellus, in this respect, had greatly the advantage, as we have observed in his life.

Hannibal had hastened to the relief of Tarentum, and being within five miles of it when it was taken, he scrupled not to say publicly, "The Romans, too, have their Hannibal; for we have lost Tarentum in the same manner that we gained it." And in private he then first acknowledged to his friends, "That he had always thought it difficult, but now saw it was impossible, with the forces he had, to conquer Italy."

Fabius for this was honoured with a triumph more splendid than the former, having gloriously maintained

the field against Hannibal, and baffled all his schemes with ease, just as an able wrestler disengages himself from the arms of his antagonist whose grasp no longer retains the same vigour. For Hannibal's army was now partly enervated with opulence and luxury, and partly impaired and worn with continual action.

Marcus Livius, who commanded in Tarentum, when it was betrayed to Hannibal, retired into the citadel, and held it till the town was retaken by the Romans. This officer beheld with pain the honours conferred upon Fabius; and one day his envy and vanity drew from him this expression in the senate, "I, not Fabius, was the cause of recovering Tarentum." "True," said Fabius, laughing, "for if you had not lost the town, I had never recovered it."

Among other honours which the Romans paid to Fabius, they elected his son consul. When he had entered upon his office, and was settling some point relating to the war, the father, either on account of his age and infirmities, or else to try his son, mounted his horse to ride up to him. The young consul, seeing him at a distance, would not suffer it, but sent one of the lictors to his father with orders for him to dismount, and to come on foot to the consul, if he had any occasion to apply to him. The whole assembly were moved at this, and cast their eyes upon Fabius, by their silence and their looks expressing their resentment of the indignity offered to a person of his character. But he instantly alighted, and ran to his son, and embraced him with great tenderness. "My son," said he, "I applaud your sentiments and your behaviour. You know what a people you command, and have a just sense of the dignity of your office. This was the way that we and

our forefathers took to advance Rome to her present height of glory, always considering the honour and interest of our country before that of our own fathers and children."

And, indeed, it is reported that the great-grandfather of our Fabius, though he was one of the greatest men in Rome, whether we consider his reputation or authority, though he had been five times consul, and had been honoured with several glorious triumphs, on account of his success in wars of the last importance, yet condescended to serve as lieutenant to his son, then consul, in an expedition against the Samnites; and while his son, in the triumph which was decreed him, drove into Rome in a chariot and four, he, with others, followed him on horseback. Thus, while he had authority over his son considered as a private man, and while he was both especially and reputedly the most considerable member of the commonwealth, yet he gloried in showing his subjection to the laws and to the magistrate. Nor was this the only part of his character that deserves to be admired.

When Fabius Maximus had the misfortune to lose his son, he bore that loss with great moderation, as became a wise man and a good father; and the funeral oration, which on account of deaths of illustrious men is usually pronounced by some near kinsman, he delivered himself, and having committed it to writing, made it public.

When Publius Cornelius Scipio, who was sent proconsul into Spain, had defeated the Carthaginians in many battles and driven them out of that province, and when he had, moreover, reduced several towns and nations under the obedience of Rome, on returning loaded with spoil, he was received with great acclamations and general

joy. Being appointed consul, and finding that the people expected something great and striking at his hands, he considered it as an antiquated method, and worthy only of the inactivity of an old man, to watch the motions of Hannibal in Italy; and therefore determined to remove the seat of war from thence into Africa, to fill the enemy's country with his legions, to extend his ravages far and wide, and to attempt Carthage itself. With this view he exerted all his talents to bring the people into his design. But Fabius, on this occasion, filled the city with alarms, as if the commonwealth was going to be brought into the most extreme danger by a rash and indiscreet young man; in short, he scrupled not to do or say anything he thought likely to dissuade his countrymen from embracing the proposal. With the senate he carried his point. But the people believing that his opposition to Scipio proceeded either from envy of his success, or from a secret fear that if this young hero should perform some signal exploit, put an end to the war, or even remove it out of Italy, his own slow proceedings through the course of so many years, might be imputed to indolence or timidity.

To me Fabius seems at first to have opposed the measures of Scipio from an excess of caution and prudence, and to have really thought the danger attending his project great; but in the progress of the opposition, I think he went too great lengths, misled by ambition and a jealousy of Scipio's rising glory. For he applied to Crassus, the colleague of Scipio, and endeavoured to persuade him not to yield that province to Scipio, but, if he thought it proper to conduct the war in that manner, to go himself against Carthage. Nay, he even hindered the raising of money for that expedition: so that Scipio was obliged to

find the supplies as he could : and he effected it through his interest with the cities of Etruria, which were wholly devoted to him. As for Crassus, he stayed at home, partly induced to it by his disposition, which was mild and peaceful, and partly by the care of religion, which was entrusted to him as high-priest.

Fabius, therefore, took another method to traverse the design. He endeavoured to prevent the young men who offered to go volunteers from giving in their names, and loudly declared both in the senate and forum : "That Scipio did not only himself avoid Hannibal, but intended to carry away with him the remaining strength of Italy, persuading the young men to abandon their parents, their wives, their native city, whilst an unsubdued and potent enemy was still at their doors." With these assertions he so terrified the people that they allowed Scipio to take with him only the legions that were in Sicily, and three hundred of those men who had served him with so much fidelity in Spain. In this particular Fabius seems to have followed the dictates of his own cautious temper.

After Scipio was gone over into Africa, an account was soon brought to Rome of his glorious and wonderful achievements. This account was followed by rich spoils, which confirmed it. A Numidian king was taken prisoner ; two camps were burned and destroyed, and in them a vast number of men, arms, and horses ; and the Carthaginians sent orders to Hannibal to quit his fruitless hopes in Italy, and return home to defend his own country. Whilst every tongue was applauding these exploits of Scipio, Fabius proposed that his successor should be appointed, without any shadow or reason for it, except what this well-known maxim implies, viz., "That it is dangerous to trust affairs of such importance to the

fortune of one man, because it is not likely that he will be always successful."

By this he offended the people, who now considered him as a captious and envious man, or as one whose courage and hopes were lost in the dregs of years, and who, therefore, looked upon Hannibal as much more formidable than he really was. Nay, even when Hannibal embarked his army and quitted Italy, Fabius ceased not to disturb the general joy and to damp the spirits of Rome, for he took the liberty to affirm, "That the commonwealth was now come to her last and worst trial; that he had the most reason to dread the efforts of Hannibal when he should arrive in Africa, and attack her sons under the walls of Carthage: that Scipio would have to do with an army yet warm with the blood of so many Roman generals, dictators, and consuls." The city was alarmed with these declamations, and though the war was removed into Africa, the danger seemed to approach nearer Rome than ever.

However, soon after, Scipio defeated Hannibal in a pitched battle pulled down the pride of Carthage and trod it under foot. This afforded the Romans a pleasure beyond all their hopes, and restored a firmness to their empire, which had been shaken with so many tempests. But Fabius Maximus did not live to the end of the war, to hear of the overthrow of Hannibal, or to see the prosperity of his country re-established: for about the time that Hannibal left Italy he fell sick and died. We are assured that Epaminondas died so poor that the Thebans buried him at the public charge, for at his death nothing was found in his house but an iron spit. The expense of Fabius's funeral was not, indeed, defrayed out of the Roman treasury, but every citizen contributed a small

piece of money towards it; not that he died without effects, but that they might bury him as father of the people: and that the honours paid him at his death might be suitable to the dignity of his life.

PERICLES AND FABIUS MAXIMUS COMPARED.

Such were the lives of these two persons, so illustrious and worthy of imitation both in their civil and military capacity. We shall first compare their talents for war. And here it strikes us at once, that Pericles came into power at a time when the Athenians were at the height of prosperity, great in themselves and respectable to their neighbours; so that in the very strength of the republic, with only common success, he was secure from taking any disgraceful step. But as Fabius came to the helm when Rome experienced the worst and most mortifying turn of fortune, he had not to preserve the well-established prosperity of a flourishing state, but to draw his country from an abyss of misery and raise it to happiness. Besides, the successes of Cimon, the victories of Myronides and Leocrates, and the many great achievements of Tolmides, rather furnished occasion to Pericles, during his administration, to entertain the city with feasts and games, than to make new acquisitions or to defend the old ones by arms. On the other hand, Fabius had the frightful objects before his eyes of defeat and disgraces, of Roman consuls and generals slain, of lakes, fields, and forests full of the dead carcasses of whole armies, and of rivers flowing with blood down to the very sea. In this

tottering and decayed condition of the commonwealth, he was to support it by his counsels and his vigour and to keep it from falling into absolute ruin, to which it was brought so near by the errors of former commanders.

It may seem, indeed, a less arduous performance to manage the tempers of a people humbled by calamities and compelled by necessity to listen to reason, than to restrain the wildness and insolence of a city elated with success and wanton with power, such as Athens was when Pericles held the reins of government. But then undauntedly to keep to his first resolutions, and not to be discomposed by the vast weight of misfortunes with which Rome was then oppressed, discovers in Fabius an admirable firmness and dignity of mind.

Against the taking of Samos by Pericles we may set the retaking of Tarentum by Fabius; and with Eubœa we may put in balance the towns of Campania. As for Capua, it was recovered afterwards by the Consuls Furius and Appius. Fabius, indeed, gained but one set battle, for which he had his first triumph, whereas Pericles erected nine trophies for as many victories won by land and sea. But none of the victories of Pericles can be compared with that memorable rescue of Minucius, by which Fabius redeemed him and his whole army from utter destruction, an action truly great, and in which you find at once the bright assemblage of valour, of prudence, and humanity. Nor can Pericles, on the other hand, be said ever to have committed such an error as that of Fabius, when he suffered himself to be imposed on by Hannibal's stratagem of the oxen, let his enemy slip in the night through those straits in which he had been entangled by accident, and where he could not possibly have forced his way out, and as soon as it was

day saw himself repulsed by the man who so lately was at his mercy.

If it is the part of a good general not only to make a proper use of the present, but also form the best judgment of things to come, it must be allowed that Pericles both foresaw and foretold what success the Athenians would have in the war, namely, that they would ruin themselves by grasping at too much. But it was entirely against the opinion of Fabius that the Romans sent Scipio into Africa, and yet they were victorious there, not by the favour of fortune, but by the courage and conduct of their general. So that the misfortunes of his country bore witness to the sagacity of Pericles, and from the glorious success of the Romans it appeared that Fabius was utterly mistaken. And, indeed, it is an equal fault in a commander-in-chief to lose an advantage through diffidence and to fall into danger for want of foresight; for it is the same want of judgment and skill that sometimes produces too much confidence and sometimes leaves too little. Thus far concerning their abilities in war.

And if we consider them in their political capacity, we shall find that the greatest fault laid to the charge of Pericles was that he caused the Peloponnesian war, through opposition to the Lacedæmonians which made him unwilling to give up the least point to them. I do not suppose that Fabius Maximus would have given up any point to the Carthaginians, but that he would generously have run the last risk to maintain the dignity of Rome.

The mild and moderate behaviour of Fabius to Minucius sets in a very disadvantageous light the conduct of Pericles, in his implacable persecution of Cimon and

Thucydides, valuable men, and friends to the aristocracy, and yet banished by his practices and intrigues.

Besides, the power of Pericles was much greater than that of Fabius, and therefore he did not suffer any misfortune to be brought upon Athens by the wrong measures of other generals. Tolmides only carried it against him for attacking the Bœotians, and in doing it he was defeated and slain. All the rest adhered to his party and submitted to his opinion, on account of his superior authority; whereas Fabius, whose measures were salutary and safe, as far as they depended upon himself, appears only to have fallen short by his inability to prevent the miscarriages of others. For the Romans would not have had so many misfortunes to deplore if the power of Fabius had been as great in Rome as that of Pericles in Athens.

As to their liberality and public spirit, Pericles showed it in refusing the sums that were offered him, and Fabius in ransoming his soldiers with his own money. This, indeed, was no great expense, being only about six talents. But it is not easy to say what a treasure Pericles might have amassed from the allies, and from kings who made their court to him, on account of his great authority; yet no man ever kept himself more free from corruption.

As for the temples, the public edifices, and other works with which Pericles adorned Athens, all the structures of that kind in Rome put together, until the time of the Cæsars, deserved not to be compared with them either in the greatness of the design or the excellence of the execution.

DEMOSTHENES.

WHOEVER it was, my Sosius, that wrote the encomium upon Alcibiades for his victory in the chariot-race at the Olympic Games: whether Euripides (which is the common opinion), or some other, he asserts, that "The first requisite to happiness is, that a man be born in a famous city." But, as to real happiness, which consists principally in the disposition and habit of the mind, for my part, I think it would make no difference though a man should be born in an inconsiderable town, or of a mother who had no advantages either in size or beauty: for it is ridiculous to suppose that Iulis, a small town in the isle of Ceos, which is itself not great, and Ægina, which an Athenian "wanted to have taken away, as an eyesore to the Piræus," should give birth to good poets and players, and not be able to produce a man who might attain the virtues of justice, of contentment, and of magnanimity. Indeed, those arts which are to gain the master of them considerable profit or honour, may probably not flourish in mean and insignificant towns. But virtue, like a strong and hardy plant, will take root in any place where it can find an ingenuous nature and a mind that has no aversion to labour and discipline: therefore, if our sentiments or conduct fall short of the point they ought to reach, we must not impute it to the obscurity of the place where we were born, but to our little selves.

These reflections, however, extend not to any author who would write a history of events which happened in a foreign country, and cannot be come at in his own. As he has materials to collect from a variety of books dispersed in different libraries, his first care should be to take up his residence in some populous town which has an ambition for literature; there he will meet with many curious and valuable books, and the particulars that are wanting in writers, he may, upon inquiry, be supplied with by those who laid them up in the faithful repository of memory: this will prevent his work from being defective in any material point. As to myself, I live in a little town, and I choose to live there lest it should become still less. When I was in Rome, and other parts of Italy, I had not leisure to study the Latin tongue, on account of the public commissions with which I was charged, and the number of people that came to me to be instructed in philosophy. It was not, therefore, till a late period in life that I began to read the Roman authors. The process may seem strange, and yet it is very true. I did not so much gain the knowledge of things by the words as words by the knowledge I had of things. I shall only add, that to attain such a skill in the language as to be master of the beauty and fluency of its expressions, with its figures, its harmony, and all the other graces of its structure, would indeed be an elegant and agreeable accomplishment; but the practice and pains it requires are more than I have time for, and I must leave the ambition to excel in that walk to younger men.

In this book, which is the fifth of our parallels, we intend to give the lives of Demosthenes and Cicero, and from their actions and political conduct we shall collect and compare their manners and dispositions; but for the

reason already assigned, we shall not pretend to examine their orations, or to determine which of them was the more agreeable speaker ; for as Ion says —

> "What's the gay dolphin when he quits the waves,
> And bounds upon the shore?"

Cæcilius, a writer at all times much too presumptuous, paid little regard to that maxim of the poet's, when he so boldly attempted a comparison between Demosthenes and Cicero. But, perhaps, the precept "Know thyself" would not be considered as divine if every man could easily reduce it to practice.

It seems to me that Demosthenes and Cicero were originally formed by nature in the same mould, so great is the resemblance in their disposition. The same ambition, the same love of liberty, appears in their whole administration, and the same timidity amidst wars and dangers. Nor did they less resemble each other in their fortunes ; for I think it is impossible to find two other orators who raised themselves from obscure beginnings to such authority and power who both opposed kings and tyrants ; who both lost their daughters ; were banished their country, and returned with honour ; were forced to fly again ; were taken by their enemies, and at last expired the same hour with the liberties of their country. So that if nature and fortune, like two artificers, were to descend upon the scene, and to dispute about their work, it would be difficult to decide whether the former had produced a greater resemblance in their dispositions, or the latter in the circumstances of their lives. We shall begin with the more ancient.

Demosthenes, the father of Demosthenes, was one of the principal citizens of Athens. Theopompus tells us

he was called the sword-cutler, because he employed a great number of slaves in that business. As to what Æschines the orator relates concerning his mother, that she was the daughter of one Gylon, who was forced to fly for treason against the commonwealth, and of a barbarian woman, we cannot take upon us to say whether it was dictated by truth, or by falsehood and malignity. He had a large fortune left him by his father, who died when he was only seven years of age, the whole being estimated at little less than fifteen talents. But he was greatly wronged by his guardians, who converted part to their own use, and suffered part to lie neglected; nay, they were vile enough to defraud his tutors of their salaries. This was the chief reason that he had not those advantages of education to which his quality entitled him. His mother did not choose that he should be put to hard and laborious exercises, on account of the weakness and delicacy of his frame, and his preceptors, being ill paid, did not press him to attend them. Indeed, from the first he was of a slender and sickly habit, insomuch that the boys are said to have given him the contemptuous name of Batalus for his natural defects. Some say Batalus was an effeminate musician, whom Antiphanes ridiculed in one of his farces; others that he was a poet whose verses were of the most wanton and licentious kind. The Athenians, too, at that time, seemed to have called a part of the body Batalus which decency forbids us to name. We are told that Demosthenes had likewise the name of Argas, on account of the savage and morose turn of his behaviour, for there is a sort of a serpent which some of the poets call Argas; or else for the severity of his expressions, which often gave his hearers pain; for there was a poet named Argas, whose verses

were very keen and satirical. But enough of this article.

His ambition to speak in public is said to have taken its rise on this occasion. The orator Callistratus was to plead in the cause which the city of Oropus had depending; and the expectation of the public was greatly raised, both by the powers of the orator, which were then in the highest repute, and by the importance of the trial. Demosthenes, hearing the governors and tutors agreeing among themselves to attend the trial, with much importunity prevailed on his master to take him to hear the pleadings. The master, having some acquaintance with the officers who opened the court, got his young pupil a seat where he could hear the orators without being seen. Callistratus had great success, and his abilities were extremely admired. Demosthenes was fired with a spirit of emulation. When he saw with what distinction the orator was conducted home, and complimented by the people, he was struck still more with the power of that commanding eloquence which could carry all before it. From this time, therefore, he bade adieu to the other studies and exercises in which boys are engaged, and applied himself with great assiduity to declaiming, in hopes of being one day numbered among the orators. Isæus was the man he made use of as his preceptor in eloquence, though Isocrates then taught it—whether it was that the loss of his father incapacitated him to pay the sum of ten minæ, which was that rhetorician's usual price, or whether he preferred the keen and subtle manner of Isæus, as more fit for public use.

Hermippus says he met with an account in certain anonymous memoirs that Demosthenes likewise studied under Plato, and received great assistance from him in

preparing to speak in public. He adds, that Ctesibius used to say that Demosthenes was privately supplied by Callias the Syracusan, and some others, with the systems of rhetoric taught by Isocrates and Alcidamus, and made his advantage of them.

When his minority was expired, he called his guardians to account at law, and wrote orations against them. As they found many methods of chicane and delay, he had great opportunity, as Thucydides says, to exercise his talent for the bar. It was not without much pains and some risk that he gained his cause: and at last it was but a very small part of his patrimony that he could recover. By this means, however, he acquired a proper assurance and some experience; and having tasted the honour and power that go in the train of eloquence, he attempted to speak in the public debates, and take a share in the administration. As it is said of Laomedon the Orchomenian that, by the advice of his physicians, in some disorder of the spleen, he applied himself to running, and continued it constantly a great length of way, till he gained such excellent health and breath that he tried for the crown at the public games, and distinguished himself in the long course: so it happened to Demosthenes, that he first appeared at the bar for the recovery of his own fortune, which had been so much embezzled; and having acquired in that cause a persuasive and powerful manner of speaking, he contested the crown, as I may call it, with the other orators before the general assembly.

However, in his first address to the people, he was laughed at and interrupted by their clamours; for the violence of his manner threw him into a confusion of periods and a distortion of argument. Besides, he had a

weakness and a stammering in his voice, and a want of breath, which caused such a distraction in his discourse that it was difficult for the audience to understand him. At last, upon his quitting the assembly, Eunomus the Thracian, a man now extremely old, found him wandering in a dejected condition in the Piræus, and took upon him to set him right. "You," said he, "have a manner of speaking very like that of Pericles; and yet you lose yourself out of mere timidity and cowardice. You neither bear up against the tumults of a popular assembly, nor prepare your body by exercise for the labour of the rostrum, but suffer your parts to wither away in negligence and indolence."

Another time, we are told, when his speeches had been ill received, and he was going home with his head covered, and in the greatest distress, Satyrus the player, who was an acquaintance of his, followed, and went in with him, Demosthenes lamented to him "that, though he was the most laborious of all the orators, and had almost sacrificed his health to that application, yet he could gain no favour with the people; but drunken seamen and other unlettered persons were heard, and kept the rostrum, while he was entirely disregarded." "You say true," answered Satyrus; "but I will soon provide a remedy, if you will repeat to me some speech in Euripides or Sophocles." When Demosthenes had done, Satyrus pronounced the same speech; and he did it with such propriety of action and so much in character, that it appeared to the orator quite a different passage. He now understood so well how much grace and dignity of action adds to the best oration that he thought it a small matter to premeditate and compose, though with the utmost care, if the pronunciation and propriety of gesture were

not attended to. Upon this, he built himself a subterraneous study, which remained to our times. Thither he repaired every day to form his action and exercise his voice; and he would often stay there for two or three months together, shaving one side of his head, that if he should happen to be ever so desirous of going abroad the shame of appearing in that condition might keep him in.

When he did go out upon a visit, or received one, he would take something that passed in conversation, some business or fact that was reported to him, for a subject to exercise himself upon. As soon as he had parted from his friends, he went to his study, where he repeated the matter in order as it passed, together with the arguments for and against it. The substance of the speeches which he heard he committed to memory, and afterwards reduced them to regular sentences and periods, meditating a variety of corrections and new forms of expression, both for what others had said to him and he had addressed to them. Hence it was concluded that he was not a man of much genius, and that all his eloquence was the effect of labour. A strong proof of this seemed to be that he was seldom heard to speak anything extempore, and though the people often called upon him by name, as he sat in the assembly, to speak to the point debated, he would not do it unless he came prepared. For this many of the orators ridiculed him; and Pytheas, in particular, told him, "That all his arguments smelled of the lamp." Demosthenes retorted sharply upon him, "Yes, indeed, but your lamp and mine, my friend, are not conscious of the same labours." To others he did not pretend to deny his previous application, but told them "he neither wrote the whole of his orations nor

spoke without first committing part to writing." He farther affirmed "that this showed him a good member of a democratic state; for the coming prepared to the rostrum was a mark of respect to the people. Whereas, to be regardless of what the people might think of a man's address, showed his inclination for oligarchy, and that he had rather gain his point by force than by persuasion." Another proof they give us of his want of confidence on any sudden occasion is that when he happened to be put in disorder by the tumultuary behaviour of the people, Demades often rose up to support him in an extempore address, but he never did the same for Demades.

Wherefore, then, it may be said, did Æschines call him an orator of the most admirable assurance? How could he stand up alone and refute Python the Byzantine, whose eloquence poured against the Athenians like a torrent? And when Lamachus the Myrrhinean pronounced at the Olympic Games an encomium which he had written upon Philip and Alexander, and in which he had asserted many severe and reproachful things against the Thebans and Olynthians, how could Demosthenes rise up and prove, by a ready deduction of facts, the many benefits for which Greece was indebted to the Thebans and Chalsidians, and the many evils that the flatterers of the Macedonians had brought upon their country? This, too, wrought such a change in the minds of the great audience that the sophist, his antagonist, apprehending a tumult, stole out of the assembly.

Upon the whole, it appears that Demosthenes did not take Pericles entirely for his model. He only adopted his action and delivery, and his prudent resolution not to make a practice of speaking from a sudden impulse, or on any occasion that might present itself; being per-

suaded that it was to that conduct he owed his greatness. Yet, while he chose not often to trust the success of his powers to fortune, he did not absolutely neglect the reputation which may be acquired by speaking on a sudden occasion. And, if we believe Eratosthenes, Demetrius the Phalerean, and the comic poets, there was a greater spirit and boldness in his unpremeditated orations than in those he had committed to writing. Eratosthenes says that in his extemporaneous harangues he often spoke as from a supernatural impulse; and Demetrius tells us that in an address to the people, like a man inspired, he once uttered his oath in verse—

"By earth, by all her fountains, streams, and floods."

One of the comic writers calls him Rhopopererethras, and another ridiculing his frequent use of the antithesis, says, "As he took, so he retook." For Demosthenes affected to use that expression. Possibly Antiphanes played upon that passage in the oration concerning the isle of Halonesus, in which Demosthenes advised the Athenians "not to take, but to retake it from Philip."

It was agreed, however, on all hands, that Demades excelled all the orators when he trusted to nature only; and that his sudden effusions were superior to the laboured speeches of Demosthenes. Aristo of Chios gives us the following account of the opinion of Theophrastus concerning these orators. Being asked in what light he looked upon Demosthenes as an orator, he said, "I think him worthy of Athens:" what of Demades, "I think him above it." The same philosopher relates of Polyeuctus the Sphettian, who was one of the principal persons in the Athenian administration at that time, that he called "Demosthenes the greatest orator, and Phocion the most

powerful speaker;" because the latter comprised a great deal of sense in a few words. To the same purpose, we are told that Demosthenes himself, whenever Phocion got up to oppose him, used to say to his friends, "Here comes the pruning-hook of my periods." It is uncertain, indeed, whether Demosthenes referred to Phocion's manner of speaking, or to his life and character. The latter might be the case, because he knew that a word or a nod from a man of superior character is more regarded than the long discourses of another.

As for his personal defects, Demetrius the Phalerean gives us an account of the remedies he applied to them; and he says he had it from Demosthenes in his old age. The hesitation and stammering of his tongue he corrected by practising to speak with pebbles in his mouth; and he strengthened his voice by running or walking up hill, and pronouncing some passage in an oration or a poem, during the difficulty of breath which that caused. He had, moreover, a looking-glass in his house, before which he used to declaim and adjust all his motions.

It is said that a man came to him one day and desired him to be his advocate against a person from whom he had suffered by assault. "Not you, indeed," said Demosthenes, "you have suffered no such thing." "What!" said the man, raising his voice, "have I not received those blows?" "Ay, now," replied Demosthenes, "you do speak like a person that has been injured." So much, in his opinion, do the tone of voice and the action contribute to gain the speaker credit in what he affirms.

His action pleased the commonalty much: but people of taste (among whom was Demetrius the Phalerean) thought there was something in it low, inelegant, and unmanly. Hermippus acquaints us that Æsion, being

asked his opinion of the ancient orators and those of that time, said, "Whoever has heard the orators of former times must admire the decorum and dignity with which they spoke. Yet when we read the orations of Demosthenes, we must allow they have more art in the composition and greater force." It is needless to mention that in his written orations there was something extremely cutting and severe; but in his sudden repartees there was also something of humour. When Demades said, "Demosthenes to me! a sow to Minerva;" our orator made answer, "This Minerva was found the other day playing the courtezan in Colyttus." When a rascal, surnamed Chalchus, attempted to jest upon his late studies and long watchings, he said, "I know my lamp offends thee; but you need not wonder, my countrymen, that we have so many robberies, when we have thieves of brass, and walls only of clay." Though more of his sayings might be produced, we shall pass them over, and go on to seek the rest of his manners and character in his actions and political conduct.

He tells us himself, that he entered upon public business in the time of the Phocian war; and the same may be collected from his Philippics: for some of the last of them were delivered after that war was finished, and the former relate to the immediate transactions of it. It appears also that he was two-and-thirty years old when he was preparing his oration against Midias; and yet at that time he had attained no name or power in the administration. This, indeed, seems to be the reason of his dropping the prosecution for a sum of money. For

> "——no prayer, no moving art
> E'er bent that fierce, inexorable heart."

He was vindictive in his nature, and implacable in his resentments. He saw it a difficult thing, and out of the reach of his interest, to pull down a man so well supported on all sides, as Midias, by wealth and friends; and therefore he listened to the application in his behalf. Had he seen any hopes or possibility of crushing his enemy, I cannot think that three thousand drachmas could have disarmed his anger.

He had a glorious subject for his political ambition, to defend the cause of Greece against Philip. He defended it like a champion worthy of such a charge, and soon gained reputation both for eloquence and for the bold truths which he spoke: he was admired in Greece, and courted by the King of Persia. Nay, Philip himself had a much higher opinion of him than the other orators; and his enemies acknowledged that they had to contend with a great man. For Æschines and Hyperides, in their very accusations, give him such a character.

I wonder, therefore, how Theopompus could say that he was a man of no steadiness, who was never long pleased either with the same persons or things; for, on the contrary, it appears that he abode by the party and the measures which he first adopted; and was so far from quitting them during his life that he forfeited his life rather than he would forsake them. Demades, to excuse the inconsistency of his public character, used to say, "I may have asserted things contrary to my former sentiments, but not anything contrary to the true interest of the commonwealth." Melanopus, who was of the opposite party to Callistratus, often suffered himself to be bought off, and then said, by way of apology, to the people, "It is true the man is my enemy, but the public good is an overruling consideration." And Nicodemus

the Messenian, who first appeared strong in the interest of Cassander, and afterwards in that of Demetrius, said, "He did not contradict himself, for it was always the best way to listen to the strongest." But we have nothing of that kind to allege against Demosthenes; he was never a time-server, either in his words or actions. The key of politics which he first touched, he kept to without variation.

Panætius, the philosopher, asserts that most of his orations are written upon this principle, that virtue is to be chosen for her own sake only; that, for instance, of the crown, that against Aristocrates, that for the immunities and the Philippics. In all these orations, he does not exhort his countrymen to that which is most agreeable, or easy, or advantageous; but points out honour and propriety as the first objects, and leaves the safety of the state as a matter of inferior consideration. So that if, beside that noble ambition which animated his measures, and the generous turn of his addresses to the people, he had been blest with the courage that war demands, and had kept his hands clear of bribes, he would not have been numbered with such orators as Mirocles, Polyeuctus, and Hyperides, but have deserved to be placed in a higher sphere with Cimon, Thucydides, and Pericles.

Among those who took the reins of government after him, Phocion, though not of the party in most esteem (I mean that which seemed to favour the Macedonians), yet, on account of his probity and valour, did not appear at all inferior to Ephialtes, Aristides, and Cimon. But Demosthenes had neither the courage that could be trusted in the field, nor was he (as Demetrius expresses it) sufficiently fortified against the impressions of money.

Though he bore up against the assaults of corruption from Philip and the Macedonians, yet he was taken by the gold of Susa and Ecbatana. So that he was much better qualified to recommend than to imitate the virtues of our ancestors. It must be acknowledged, however, that he excelled all the orators of his time, except Phocion, in his life and conversation. And we find in his orations that he told the people the boldest truths, that he opposed their inclinations and corrected their errors with the greatest spirit and freedom. Theopompus also acquaints us that when the Athenians were for having him manager of a certain impeachment, and insisted upon it in a tumultuary manner, he would not comply, but rose up and said, "My friends, I will be your counsellor, whether you will or no; but a false accuser I will not be, how much soever you may wish it." His behaviour in the case of Antipho was of the aristocratic cast. The people had acquitted him in the general assembly; and yet he carried him before the Areopagus, where, without regarding the offence it might give the people, he proved that he had promised Philip to burn the arsenal; upon which he was condemned by the council, and put to death. He likewise accused the priestess Theoris of several misdemeanours, and, among the rest, of her teaching the slaves many arts of imposition. Such crimes, he insisted, were capital; and she was delivered over to the executioner.

Demosthenes is said to have written the oration for Apollodorus, by which he carried his cause against the general Timotheus, in an action of debt to the public treasury; as also those others against Phormio and Stephanus, which was a just exception against his character, for he composed the oration which Phormio had

pronounced against Apollodorus. This, therefore, was like furnishing two enemies with weapons out of the same shop to fight one another. He wrote some public orations for others before he had any concern in the administration himself—namely, those against Androtion, Timocrates, and Aristocrates. For it appears that he was only twenty-seven or twenty-eight years of age when he published those orations. That against Aristogiton, and that for the immunities, he delivered himself, at the request, as he says, of Ctesippus, the son of Chabrias ; though others tell us it was because he paid his addresses to the young man's mother. He did not, however, marry her, for his wife was a woman of Samos, as Demetrius the Magnesian informs us, in his account of persons of the same name. It is uncertain whether that against Æschines, for betraying his trust as ambassador, was ever spoken ; though Idomeneus affirms that Æschines was acquitted only by thirty votes. This seems not to be true, at least so far as may be conjectured from both their orations concerning the crown ; for neither of them expressly mentions it as a cause that ever came to trial. But this is a point which we shall leave for others to decide.

Demosthenes, through the whole course of his political conduct, left none of the actions of the King of Macedon undisparaged. Even in time of peace he laid hold of every opportunity to raise suspicions against him among the Athenians, and to excite their resentment. Hence Philip looked upon him as a person of the greatest importance in Athens ; and when he went, with nine other deputies, to the court of that prince, after having given them all audience, he answered the speech of Demosthenes with greater care than the rest. As to other marks of honour and respect, Demosthenes had not an equal share in them ;

they were bestowed principally upon Æschines and Philocrates. They, therefore, were large in the praise of Philip on all occasions ; and they insisted, in particular, on his eloquence, his beauty, and even his being able to drink a great quantity of liquor. Demosthenes, who could not bear to hear him praised, turned these things off as trifles. "The first," he said, "was the property of a sophist, the second of a woman, and the third of a sponge ; and not one of them could do any credit to a king."

Afterwards it appeared that nothing was to be expected but war ; for, on the one hand, Philip knew not how to sit down in tranquillity ; and, on the other, Demosthenes inflamed the Athenians. In this case, the first step the orator took was to put the people upon sending an armament to Eubœa, which was brought under the yoke of Philip by its petty tyrants. Accordingly he drew up an edict, in pursuance of which they passed over to that peninsula, and drove out the Macedonians. His second operation was the sending succours to the Byzanthians and Perinthians, with whom Philip was at war. He persuaded the people to drop their resentment, to forget the faults which both those nations had committed in the confederate war, and to send a body of troops to their assistance. They did so, and it saved them from ruin. After this, he went ambassador to the states of Greece ; and, by his animating address, brought them almost all to join in the league against Philip. Besides the troops of the several cities, they took an army of mercenaries, to the number of fifteen thousand foot and two thousand horse, into pay, and readily contributed to the charge. Theophrastus tells us that, when the allies desired their contributions might be settled, Crobylus the orator

answered, "That war could not be brought to any set diet."

The eyes of all Greece were now upon these movements, and all were solicitous for the event. The cities of Eubœa, the Achæans, the Corinthians, the Megarensians, the Leucadians, the Corcyræans had each severally engaged for themselves against the Macedonians. Yet the greatest work remained for Demosthenes to do—which was to bring the Thebans over to the league. Their country bordered upon Attica; they had a great army on foot, and were then reckoned the best soldiers in Greece. But they had recent obligations to Philip in the Phocian war, and therefore it was not easy to draw them from him; especially when they considered the frequent quarrels and acts of hostility in which their vicinity to Athens engaged them.

Meantime Philip, elated with his success at Amphissa, surprised Elatea, and possessed himself of Phocis. The Athenians were struck with astonishment, and not one of them durst mount the rostrum: no one knew what advice to give; but a melancholy silence reigned in the city. In this distress Demosthenes alone stood forth, and proposed that application should be made to the Thebans. He likewise animated the people in his usual manner, and inspired them with fresh hopes; in consequence of which he was sent ambassador to Thebes, some others being joined in commission with him. Philip, too, on his part, as Maryas informs us, sent Amyntus and Clearchus, two Macedonians, Doachus the Thessalian, and Thrasidæus the Elean, to answer the Athenian deputies. The Thebans were not ignorant what way their true interest pointed, but each of them had the evils of war before his eyes; for their Phocian wounds were still fresh upon them.

However, the powers of the orator, as Theopompus tells us, rekindled their courage and ambition so effectually that all other objects were disregarded. They lost sight of fear, of caution, of every prior attachment, and through the force of his eloquence fell with enthusiastic transports into the path of honour.

So powerful, indeed, were the efforts of the orator, that Philip immediately sent ambassadors to Athens to apply for peace. Greece recovered her spirits whilst she stood waiting for the event; and not only the Athenian generals, but the governors of Bœotia, were ready to execute the commands of Demosthenes. All the assemblies, as well those of Thebes as those of Athens, were under his direction: he was equally beloved, equally powerful in both places; and, as Theopompus shows, it was no more than his merit claimed. But the superior power of fortune, which seems to have been working a revolution, and drawing the liberties of Greece to a period at that time, opposed and baffled all the measures that could be taken. The deity discovered many tokens of the approaching event. Among the rest, the priestess of Apollo delivered dreadful oracles; and an old prophecy from the Sibylline books was then much repeated:—

> "Far from Thermodon's banks, when, stained with blood,
> Bœotia trembles o'er the crimson flood,
> On eagle pinions let me pierce the sky,
> And see the vanquished weep, the victor die!"

This Thermodon, they say, is a small river in our country near Chæronea, which falls into the Cephisus. At present we know no river of that name; but we conjecture that the Hæmon, which runs by the temple of Hercules, where the Greeks encamped, might then be

called Thermodon ; and the battle having filled it with blood and the bodies of the slain, it might on that account change its appellation. Duris, indeed, says that Thermodon was not a river, but that some of the soldiers, as they were pitching their tents and opening the trenches, found a small statue, with an inscription, which signified that the person represented was Thermodon holding a wounded Amazon in his arms. He adds that there was another oracle on the subject much taken notice of at that time :—

> "——— Fell bird of prey,
> Wait thou the plenteous harvest which the sword
> Will give thee on Thermodon."

But it is hard to say what truth there is in these accounts.

As to Demosthenes, he is said to have had such confidence in the Grecian arms, and to have been so much elated with the courage and spirit of so many brave men calling for the enemy, that he would not suffer them to regard any oracles or prophecies. He told them that he suspected the prophetess herself of Philippising. He put the Thebans in mind of Epaminondas, and the Athenians of Pericles, how they reckoned such things as mere pretexts of cowardice, and pursued the plan which their reason had dictated. Thus far Demosthenes acquitted himself like a man of spirit and honour. But in the battle he performed nothing worthy of the glorious things he had spoken. He quitted his post ; he threw away his arms ; he fled in the most infamous manner ; and was not ashamed, as Pytheas says, to belie the inscription which he had put upon his shield in golden characters, "To good fortune."

Immediately after the victory, Philip, in the elation of his heart, committed a thousand excesses. He drank to intoxication, and danced over the dead, making a kind of song of the first part of the decree which Demosthenes had procured, and beating time to it—Demosthenes the Pæanean, son of Demosthenes, has decreed. But when he came to be sober again, and considered the dangers with which he had lately been surrounded, he trembled to think of the prodigious force and power of that orator who had obliged him to put both empire and life on the cast of a day, on a few hours of that day.

The fame of Demosthenes reached the Persian court; and the king wrote letters to his lieutenants, commanding them to supply him with money, and to attend to him more than to any other man in Greece, because he best knew how to make a diversion in his favour, by raising fresh troubles, and finding employment for the Macedonian arms nearer home. This Alexander afterwards discovered by the letters of Demosthenes which he found at Sardis, and the papers of the Persian governors expressing the sums which had been given him.

When the Greeks had lost this great battle, those of the contrary faction attacked Demosthenes, and brought a variety of public accusations against him. The people, however, not only acquitted him, but treated him with the same respect as before, and called him to the helm again, as a person whom they knew to be a well-wisher to his country. So that, when the bones of those who fell at Chæronea were brought home to be interred, they pitched upon Demosthenes to make the funeral oration. They were, therefore, so far from bearing their misfortune in a mean and ungenerous manner, as Theopompus, in a tragical strain, represents it, that, by the great honour

they did the counsellor, they showed they did not repent of having followed his advice.

Demosthenes accordingly made the oration. But after this he did not prefix his own name to his edicts, because he considered fortune as inauspicious to him; but sometimes that of one friend, sometimes that of another, till he recovered his spirits upon the death of Philip, for that prince did not long survive his victory at Chæronea, and his fate seemed to be presignified in the last of the verses above quoted:—

"And see the vanquished weep, the victor die!"

Demosthenes had secret intelligence of the death of Philip; and, in order to prepossess the people with hopes of some good success to come, he entered the assembly with a gay countenance, pretending he had seen a vision which announced something great for Athens. Soon after, messengers came with an account of Philip's death. The Athenians immediately offered sacrifices of acknowledgment to the gods for so happy an event, and voted a crown for Pausanias, who killed him. Demosthenes, on this occasion, made his appearance in magnificent attire, and with a garland on his head, though it was only the seventh day after his daughter's death, as Æschines tells us, who, on that account, reproaches him as an unnatural father. But he must himself have been of an ungenerous and effeminate disposition if he considered tears and lamentations as marks of a kind and affectionate parent, and condemned the man who bore such a loss with moderation.

At the same time, I do not pretend to say the Athenians were right in crowning themselves with flowers, or in sacrificing, upon the death of a prince who had behaved

to them with so much gentleness and humanity in their misfortunes; for it was a meanness below contempt to honour him in his life and admit him a citizen; and yet, after he was fallen by the hands of another, not to keep their joy within any bounds, but to insult the dead, and sing triumphal songs, as if they had performed some extraordinary act of valour.

I commend Demosthenes, indeed, for leaving the tears and other instances of mourning, which his domestic misfortunes might claim, to the women, and going about such actions as he thought conducive to the welfare of his country; for I think a man of such firmness and other abilities as a statesman ought to have should always have the common concern in view, and look upon his private accidents or business as considerations much inferior to the public. In consequence of which he will be much more careful to maintain his dignity than actors who personate kings and tyrants; and yet these, we see, neither laugh nor weep according to the dictates of their own passions, but as they are directed by the subject of the drama. It is universally acknowledged that we are not to abandon the unhappy to their sorrows, but to endeavour to console them by rational discourse, or by turning their attention to more agreeable objects; in the same manner as we desire those who have weak eyes to turn them from bright and dazzling colours to green, or others of a softer kind. And what better consolation can there be under domestic afflictions than to attemper and alleviate them with the public success; so that, by such a mixture, the bad may be corrected by the good? These reflections we thought proper to make, because we have observed that this discourse of Æschines has

weakened the minds of many persons, and put them upon indulging all the effeminacy of sorrow.

Demosthenes now solicited the states of Greece again, and they entered once more into the league. The Thebans, being furnished with arms by Demosthenes, attacked the garrison in their citadel, and killed great numbers ; and the Athenians prepared to join them in the war. Demosthenes mounted the rostrum almost every day, and he wrote to the King of Persia's lieutenants in Asia to invite them to commence hostilities from that quarter against Alexander, whom he called a boy, a second Margites.

But when Alexander had settled the affairs of his own country, and marched into Bœotia with all his forces, the pride of the Athenians was humbled, and the spirit of Demosthenes died away. They deserted the Thebans, and that unhappy people had to stand the whole fury of the war by themselves, in consequence of which they lost their city. The Athenians were in great trouble and confusion, and they could think of no better measure than the sending Demosthenes and some others ambassadors to Alexander. But Demosthenes, dreading the anger of that monarch, turned back at Mount Cithæron, and relinquished his commission. Alexander immediately sent deputies to Athens, who (according to Idomeneus and Duris) demanded that they would deliver up ten of their orators ; but the greatest part, and those the most reputable of the historians, say that he demanded only these eight—Demosthenes, Polyeuctus, Ephialtes, Lycurgus, Myrocles, Damon, Calisthenes, and Charidemus. On this occasion, Demosthenes addressed the people in the fable of the sheep, who were to give up their dogs to the wolves before they would grant them peace ; by which he insinuated that he and the other

orators were the guards of the people as the dogs were of the flock, and that Alexander was the great wolf they had to treat with. And again: "As we see merchants carrying about a small sample in a dish, by which they sell large quantities of wheat, so you, in us, without knowing it, deliver up the whole body of citizens." These particulars we have from Aristobulus of Cassandria.

The Athenians deliberated upon the point in full assembly; and Demades, seeing them in great perplexity, offered to go alone to the King of Macedon and intercede for the orators, on condition that each of them would give him five talents. Whether it was that he depended upon the friendship that prince had for him, or whether he hoped to find him, like a lion, satiated with blood, he succeeded, however, in his application for the orators, and reconciled Alexander to the city.

When Alexander returned to Macedon, the reputation of Demades and the other orators of his party greatly increased, and that of Demosthenes gradually declined. It is true he raised his head a little when Agis, king of Sparta, took the field; but it soon fell again, for the Athenians refused to join him. Agis was killed in battle, and the Lacedæmonians entirely routed.

About this time the affair concerning the crown came again upon the carpet. The information was first laid under the archonship of Chærondas; and the cause was not determined till ten years after, under Aristophon. It was the most celebrated cause that ever was pleaded, as well on account of the reputation of the orators as the generous behaviour of the judges; for though the prosecutors of Demosthenes were then in great power, as being entirely in the Macedonian interest, the judges would not give their voices against him, but, on the contrary,

acquitted him so honourably that Æschines had not a fifth part of the suffrages. Æschines immediately quitted Athens, and spent the rest of his days in teaching rhetoric at Rhodes and in Ionia.

It was not long after this that Harpalus came from Asia to Athens. He had fled from the service of Alexander, both because he was conscious to himself of having falsified his trust, to minister to his pleasures, and because he dreaded his master, who now was become terrible to his best friends. As he applied to the people of Athens for shelter, and desired protection for his ships and treasures, most of the orators had an eye upon the gold, and supported his application with all their interest. Demosthenes at first advised them to order Harpalus off immediately, and to be particularly careful not to involve the city in war again, without any just or necessary cause.

Yet a few days after, when they were taking an account of the treasure, Harpalus, perceiving that Demosthenes was much pleased with one of the king's cups, and stood admiring the workmanship and fashion, desired him to take it in his hand, and feel the weight of the gold. Demosthenes, being surprised at the weight, and asking Harpalus how much it might bring, he smiled and said, "It will bring you twenty talents." And as soon as it was night he sent him the cup with that sum, for Harpalus knew well enough how to distinguish a man's passion for gold by his pleasure at the sight, and the keen looks he cast upon it. Demosthenes could not resist the temptation; it made all the impression upon him that was expected; he received the money, like a garrison, into his house, and went over to the interest of Harpalus. Next day he came into the assembly with a quantity of

wool and bandages about his neck ; and when the people called upon him to get up and speak, he made signs that he had lost his voice. Upon which some that were by said "it was no common hoarseness that he had got in the night ; it was a hoarseness occasioned by swallowing gold and silver." Afterwards, when all the people were apprised of his taking the bribe, and he wanted to speak in his own defence, they would not suffer him, but raised a clamour and expressed their indignation. At the same time somebody or other stood up and said sneeringly, "Will you not listen to the man with the cup?" The Athenians then immediately sent Harpalus off, and, fearing they might be called to account for the money with which the orators had been corrupted, they made a strict inquiry after it, and searched all their houses, except that of Callicles, the son of Arenides, whom they spared, as Theopompus says, because he was newly married, and his bride was in his house.

At the same time Demosthenes, seemingly with a design to prove his innocence, moved for an order that the affair should be brought before the Court of Areopagus, and all persons punished who should be found guilty of taking bribes. In consequence of which he appeared before that court, and was one of the first that were convicted. Being sentenced to pay a fine of fifty talents, and to be imprisoned till it was paid, the disgrace of his conviction, and the weakness of his constitution, which could not bear close confinement, determined him to fly ; and this he did, undiscovered by some and assisted by others. It is said that when he was not far from the city he perceived some of his late adversaries following, and endeavoured to hide himself. But they called to him by name ; and when they came near desired him to take some

necessary supplies of money which they had brought with them for that purpose. They assured him they had no other design in following, and exhorted him to take courage; but Demosthenes gave into more violent expressions of grief than ever and said, "What comfort can I have when I leave enemies in this city more generous than it seems possible to find friends in any other?" He bore his exile in a very weak and effeminate manner. For the most part he resided in Ægina or Trœzene, where, whenever he looked towards Attica, the tears fell from his eyes. In his expressions there was nothing of a rational firmness, nothing answerable to the bold things he had said and done in his administration. When he left Athens, we are told, he lifted up his hands towards the citadel and said, "O Minerva, goddess of those towers, whence is it that thou delightest in three such monsters as an owl, a dragon, and the people?" The young men who resorted to him for instruction he advised by no means to meddle with affairs of state. He told them "that if two roads had been shown him at first, the one leading to the rostrum and the business of the assembly, and the other to certain destruction, and he could have foreseen the evils that awaited him in the political walk, the fears, the envy, the calumny, and contention, he would have chosen that road which led to immediate death."

During the exile of Demosthenes Alexander died. The Greek cities once more combining upon that event, Leosthenes performed great things; and, among the rest, drew a line of circumvallation around Antipater, whom he had shut up in Lamia. Pytheas the orator, with Callimedon and Carabus, left Athens, and, going over to Antipater, accompanied his friends and ambassadors in their applications to the Greeks, and in persuading them

not to desert the Macedonian cause, nor listen to the Athenians. On the other hand, Demosthenes joined the Athenian deputies, and exerted himself greatly with them in exhorting the states to fall with united efforts upon the Macedonians, and drive them out of Greece. Phylarchus tells us that, in one of the cities of Arcadia, Pytheas and Demosthenes spoke with great acrimony; the one in pleading for the Macedonians, and the other for the Greeks. Pytheas is reported to have said, "As some sickness is always supposed to be in the house into which ass's milk is brought, so the city which an Athenian embassy ever enters must necessarily be in a sick and decayed condition." Demosthenes turned the comparison against him by saying, "An ass's milk never enters but for curing the sick; so the Athenians never appear but for remedying some disorder."

The people of Athens were so much pleased with this repartee that they immediately voted for the recall of Demosthenes. It was Damon the Pæanean, cousin-german to Demosthenes, who drew up the decree. A galley was sent to fetch him from Ægina; and when he came up from the Piræus to Athens, the whole body of the citizens went to meet and congratulate him on his return, insomuch that there was neither a magistrate nor priest left in the town. Demetrius of Magnesia acquaints us that Demosthenes lifted up his hands towards heaven in thanks for that happy day. "Happier," said he, "is my return than that of Alcibiades. It was through compulsion that the Athenians restored him, but me they have recalled from a motive of kindness."

The fine, however, still remained due, for they could not extend their grace so far as to repeal their sentence. But they found out a method to evade the law, while

they seemed to comply with it. It was the custom, in the sacrifices to Jupiter the preserver, to pay the persons who prepared and adorned the altars. They therefore appointed Demosthenes to this charge, and ordered that he should have fifty talents for his trouble, which was the sum his fine amounted to.

But he did not long enjoy his return to his country. The affairs of Greece soon went to ruin. They lost the battle of Crano in the month of August, a Macedonian garrison entered Munychia in September, and Demosthenes lost his life in October.

It happened in the following manner:—When news was brought that Antipater and Craterus were coming to Athens, Demosthenes and those of his party hastened to get out privately before their arrival. Hereupon the people, at the motion of Demades, condemned them to death. As they fled different ways Antipater sent a company of soldiers about the country to seize them. Archias, surnamed Phugadotheras, or the exile hunter, was their captain. It is said he was a native of Thurium, and had been some time a tragedian; they add that Polus of Ægina, who excelled all the actors of his time, was his scholar. Hermippus reckons Archias among the disciples of Lacritus the rhetorician; and Demetrius says he spent some time at the school of Anaximenes. This Archias, however, drew Hyperides the orator, Aristonicus of Marathon, and Himeræus, the brother of Demetrius the Phalerean, out of the temple of Æacus in Ægina, where they had taken refuge, and sent them to Antipater at Cleonæ. There they were executed; and Hyperides is said to have first had his tongue cut out.

Archias being informed that Demosthenes had taken sanctuary in the temple of Neptune at Calauria, he and

his Thracian soldiers passed over to it in row boats. As soon as he was landed he went to the orator, and endeavoured to persuade him to quit the temple and go with him to Antipater, assuring him that he had no hard measure to expect. But it happened that Demosthenes had seen a strange vision the night before. He thought that he was contending with Archias which could play the tragedian the best; that he succeeded in his action, had the audience on his side, and would certainly have obtained the prize, had not Archias outdone him in the dresses and decorations of the theatre. Therefore, when Archias had addressed him with great appearance of humanity, he fixed his eyes on him, and said, without rising from his seat, "Neither your action moved me formerly, nor do your promises move me now." Archias then began to threaten him; upon which he said, "Before you acted a part; now you speak as from the Macedonian tripod. Only wait a while till I have sent my last orders to my family." So saying, he retired into the inner part of the temple, and, taking some paper as if he intended to write, he put the pen in his mouth, and bit it a considerable time, as he used to do when thoughtful about his composition; after which he covered his head, and put it in a reclining posture. The soldiers who stood at the door, apprehending that he took these methods to put off the fatal stroke, laughed at him, and called him a coward. Archias then approaching him, desired him to rise, and began to repeat the promises of making his peace with Antipater. Demosthenes, who by this time felt the operation of the poison he had taken strong upon him, uncovered his face, and looking upon Archias, "Now," said he, "you may act the part of Creon in the play as soon as you please, and cast out this

carcase of mine unburied. For my part, O gracious Neptune, I quit thy temple with my breath within me, but Antipater and the Macedonians would not have scrupled to profane it with murder." By this time he could scarcely stand, and therefore desired them to support him; but in attempting to walk out he fell by the altar, and expired with a groan.

Aristo says he sucked the poison from a pen, as we have related it. One Poppus, whose memoirs were recovered by Hermippus, reports that, when he fell by the altar, there was found on his paper the beginning of a letter, "Demosthenes to Antipater," and nothing more. He adds, that people being surprised that he died so quickly, the Thracians who stood at the door assured them that he took the poison in his hand out of a piece of cloth, and put it to his mouth. To them it had the appearance of gold. Upon inquiry made by Archias, a young maid who served Demosthenes said he had long worn that piece of cloth by way of amulet. Eratosthenes tells us that he kept the poison in the hollow of a bracelet button which he wore upon his arm. Many others have written upon the subject, but it is not necessary to give all their different accounts. We shall only add that Demochares, a servant of Demosthenes, asserts that he did not think his death owing to poison, but to the favour of the gods, and a happy providence, which snatched him from the cruelty of the Macedonians by a speedy and easy death. He died on the 16th of October, which is the most mournful day in the ceremonies of the Thesmophoria. The women keep it with fasting in the temple of Ceres.

It was not long before the people of Athens paid him the honours that were due to him, by erecting his statue

in brass, and decreeing that the eldest of his family should be maintained in the Prytaneum at the public charge. This celebrated inscription was put upon the pedestal of his statue :—

> "Divine in speech, in judgment, too, divine,
> Had valour's wreath, Demosthenes, been thine,
> Fair Greece had still her freedom's ensign borne,
> And held the scourge of Macedon in scorn."

For no regard is to be paid to those who say that Demosthenes himself uttered these lines in Calauria just before he took the poison.

A little before I visited Athens the following adventure is said to have happened. A soldier being summoned to appear before the commanding officer upon some misdemeanor, put the little gold he had in the hands of the statue of Demosthenes, which were in some measure clenched. A small plane-tree grew by it, and many leaves, either accidentally lodged there by the winds, or purposely so placed by the soldier, covered the gold a considerable time. When he returned and found his money entire, the fame of this accident was spread abroad, and many of the wits of Athens strove which could write the best copy of verses to vindicate Demosthenes from the charge of corruption.

As for Demades, he did not long enjoy the new honours he had acquired. The Being who took it in charge to revenge Demosthenes led him into Macedonia, where he justly perished by the hands of those whom he had basely flattered. They had hated him for some time, but at last they caught him in a fact which could neither be excused nor pardoned. Letters of his were intercepted, in which he exhorted Perdiccas to seize

Macedonia and deliver Greece, which he said "hung only by an old rotten stalk," meaning Antipater. Dinarchus, the Corinthian, accusing him of this treason, Cassander was so much provoked that he stabbed his son in his arms, and afterwards gave orders for his execution. Thus, by the most dreadful misfortunes, he learned that traitors always first fell themselves, a truth which Demosthenes had often told him before, but he would never believe it. Such, my Sosius, is the life of Demosthenes, which we have compiled in the best manner we could, from books and from tradition.

CICERO.

THE account we have of Helvia, the mother of Cicero, is that her family was noble and her character excellent. Of his father there is nothing said but in extremes, for some affirm that he was the son of a fuller, and educated in that trade, while others deduce his origin from Attius Tullus, a prince who governed the Volsci with great reputation. Be that as it may, I think the first of the family who bore the name of Cicero must have been an extraordinary man; and for that reason his posterity did not reject the appellation, but rather took to it with pleasure, though it was a common subject of ridicule, for the Latins call a vetch *cicer*, and he had a flat excrescence on the top of his nose in resemblance of a vetch, from which he got that surname. As for the Cicero of whom we are writing, his friends advised him, on his first application to business and soliciting one of the great offices of state, to lay aside or change that name. But he answered with great spirit "that he would endeavour to make the name of Cicero more glorious than that of the Scauri and the Catuli." When quæstor in Sicily, he consecrated in one of the temples a vase or some other offering in silver, upon which he inscribed his two first names, Marcus Tullius, and, punning upon the third, ordered the artificer to engrave a vetch. Such is the account we have of his name.

He was born on the 3rd of January, the day on which the magistrates now sacrifice and pay their devotions for the health of the emperor; and it is said that his mother was delivered of him without pain. It is also reported that a spectre appeared to his nurse, and foretold that the child she had the happiness to attend would one day prove a great benefit to the whole commonwealth of Rome. These things might have passed for idle dreams, had he not soon demonstrated the truth of the prediction. When he was of a proper age to go to school, his genius broke out with so much lustre, and he gained so distinguished a reputation among the boys, that the fathers of some of them repaired to the schools to see Cicero, and to have specimens of his capacity for literature; but the less civilised were angry with their sons when they saw them take Cicero in the middle of them as they walked, and always give him the place of honour. He had that turn of genius and disposition which Plato would have a scholar and philosopher to possess. He had both the capacity and inclination to learn all the arts, nor was there any branch of science that he despised; yet he was most inclined to poetry, and there is still extant a poem, entitled "Pontius Glaucus," which was written by him when a boy, in tetrameter verse. In process of time, when he had studied this art with great application, he was looked upon as the best poet as well as the greatest orator in Rome. His reputation for oratory still remains, notwithstanding the considerable changes that have since been made in the language; but, as many ingenious poets have appeared since his time, his poetry has lost its credit, and is now neglected.

When he had finished those studies through which boys commonly pass, he attended the lectures of Philo

the academician, whom of all the scholars of Clitomachus the Romans most admired for his eloquence and loved for his conduct. At the same time he made great improvement in the knowledge of the law under Mucius Scævola, an eminent lawyer, and president of the senate. He likewise got a taste of military knowledge under Sylla, in the Marsian war. But afterwards finding the commonwealth engaged in civil wars, which were likely to end in nothing but absolute monarchy, he withdrew to a philosophic and contemplative life, conversing with men of letters from Greece, and making farther advances in science. This method of life he pursued till Sylla had made himself master, and there appeared to be some established government again.

About this time Sylla ordered the estate of one of the citizens to be sold by auction, in consequence of his being killed as a person proscribed. When it was struck off to Chrysogonus, Sylla's freedman, at the small sum of two thousand drachmæ, Roscius, the son and heir of the deceased, expressed his indignation, and declared that the estate was worth two hundred and fifty talents. Sylla, enraged at having his conduct thus publicly called in question, brought an action against Roscius for the murder of his father, and appointed Chrysogonus to be the manager. Such was the dread of Sylla's cruelty that no man offered to appear in defence of Roscius, and nothing seemed left for him but to fall a sacrifice. In this distress he applied to Cicero, and the friends of the young orator desired him to undertake the cause, thinking he could not have a more glorious opportunity to enter the lists of fame. Accordingly he undertook his defence, succeeded, and gained great applause; but fearing Sylla's resentment, he travelled into Greece, and

gave out that the recovery of his health was the motive. Indeed, he was of a lean and slender habit, and his stomach was so weak that he was obliged to be very sparing in his diet, and not to eat till a late hour in the day. His voice, however, had a variety of inflections, but was, at the same time, harsh and unformed; and, as in the vehemence and enthusiasm of speaking he always rose into a loud key, there was reason to apprehend that it might injure his health.

When he came to Athens he heard Antiochus the Ascalonite, and was charmed with the smoothness and grace of his elocution, though he did not approve his new doctrines in philosophy; for Antiochus had left the New Academy, as it is called, and the sect of Carneades, either from clear conviction and from the strength of the evidence of sense, or else from a spirit of opposition to the schools of Clitomachus and Philo, and had adopted most of the doctrines of the Stoics; but Cicero loved the new academy, and entered more and more into its opinions, having already taken his resolution, if he failed in his design of rising in the state, to retire from the forum and all political intrigues to Athens, and spend his days in peace in the bosom of philosophy.

But not long after he received the news of Sylla's death. His body by this time was strengthened by exercise, and brought to a good habit. His voice was formed, and at the same time that it was full and sonorous, had gained a sufficient sweetness, and was brought to a key which his constitution could bear. Besides, his friends at Rome solicited him by letters to return, and Antiochus exhorted him much to apply himself to public affairs; for which reason he exercised his rhetorical powers afresh, as the best engines for business,

and called forth his political talents. In short, he suffered not a day to pass without either declaiming or attending the most celebrated orators. In the prosecution of this design he sailed to Asia and the island of Rhodes. Amongst the rhetoricians of Asia, he availed himself of the instructions of Xenocles of Adramyttium, Dionysius of Magnesia, and Menippus of Caria. At Rhodes he studied under the rhetorician Apollonius, the son of Molo, and the philosopher Posidonius. It is said that Apollonius, not understanding the Roman language, desired Cicero to declaim in Greek, and he readily complied, because he thought by that means his faults might the better be corrected. When he had ended his declamation, the rest were astonished at his performance, and strove which should praise him most; but Apollonius showed no signs of pleasure while he was speaking; and when he had done, he sat a long time thoughtful and silent; at last, observing the uneasiness it gave his pupil, he said, "As for you, Cicero, I praise and admire you, but I am concerned for the fate of Greece. She had nothing left her but the glory of eloquence and erudition, and you are carrying that too to Rome."

Cicero now prepared to apply himself to public affairs, with great hopes of success; but his spirit received a check from the oracle of Delphi; for upon his inquiring by what means he might rise to the greatest glory, the priestess bade him "follow nature, and not take the opinion of the multitude for the guide of his life." Hence it was that after his coming to Rome he acted at first with great caution. He was timorous and backward in applying for public offices, and had the mortification to find himself neglected and called a Greek, a scholastic, terms which the artisans, and others the meanest of

the Romans, are very liberal in applying. But as he was naturally ambitious of honour, and spurred on besides by his father and his friends, he betook himself to the bar. Nor was it by slow and insensible degrees that he gained the palm of eloquence; his fame shot forth at once, and he was distinguished above all the orators of Rome. Yet it is said that his turn for action was naturally as defective as that of Demosthenes, and therefore he took all the advantage he could from the instruction of Roscius, who excelled in comedy, and of Æsop, whose talents lay in tragedy. This Æsop, we are told, when he was one day acting Atreus, in the part where he considers in what manner he should punish Thyestes, being worked up by his passion to a degree of insanity, with his sceptre struck a servant who happened suddenly to pass by, and laid him dead at his feet. In consequence of these helps, Cicero found his powers of persuasion not a little assisted by action and just pronunciation. But as for those orators who gave into a bawling manner, he laughed at them, and said, "Their weakness made them get up into clamour, as lame men get on horseback." His excellence at hitting off a jest or repartee animated his pleadings, and therefore seemed not foreign to the business of the forum; but, by bringing it much into life, he offended numbers of people, and got the character of a malevolent man.

He was appointed quæstor at a time when there was a great scarcity of corn; and having Sicily for his province, he gave the people a great deal of trouble at first, by compelling them to send their corn to Rome; but afterwards, when they came to experience his diligence, his justice, and moderation, they honoured him more than any quæstor that Rome had ever sent them. About

that time a number of young Romans of noble families, who lay under the charge of having violated the rules of discipline, and not behaved with sufficient courage in time of service, were sent back to the prætor of Sicily. Cicero undertook their defence, and acquitted himself of it with great ability and success. As he returned to Rome, much elated with these advantages, he tells us he met with a pleasant adventure. As he was on the road through Campania, meeting with a person of some eminence with whom he was acquainted, he asked him, "What they said and thought of his actions in Rome?" imagining that his name and the glory of his achievements had filled the whole city. His acquaintance answered, "Why, where have you been then, Cicero, all this time?"

This answer dispirited him extremely, for he found that the accounts of his conduct had been lost in Rome, as in an immense sea, and had made no remarkable addition to his reputation. By mature reflection upon this incident, he was brought to retrench his ambition, because he saw that contention for glory was an endless thing, and had neither measure nor bounds to terminate it. Nevertheless, his immoderate love of praise, and his passion for glory, always remained with him, and often interrupted his best and wisest designs.

When he began to dedicate himself more earnestly to public business, he thought that, while mechanics knew the name, the place, the use of every tool and instrument they take in their hands, though those things are inanimate, it would be absurd for a statesman, whose functions cannot be performed but by means of men, to be negligent in acquainting himself with the citizens. He therefore made it his business to commit to memory not only

their names, but the place of abode of those of greater note, what friends they made use of, and what neighbours were in their circle; so that whatever road in Italy Cicero travelled, he could easily point out the estates and houses of his friends.

Though his own estate was sufficient for his necessities, yet as it was small, it seemed strange that he would take neither fee nor present for his services at the bar: this was most remarkable in the case of Verres. Verres had been prætor in Sicily, and committed numberless acts of injustice and oppression. The Sicilians prosecuted him, and Cicero gained the cause for them, not so much by pleading, as by forbearing to plead. The magistrates, in their partiality to Verres, put off the trial by several adjournments to the last day; and as Cicero knew there was not time for the advocates to be heard, and the matter determined in the usual method, he rose up and said, "There was no occasion for pleadings." He therefore brought up his witnesses, and after their depositions were taken, insisted that the judges should give their verdict immediately.

Yet we have an account of several humorous sayings of Cicero's in this cause. When an emancipated slave, Cæcilius by name, who was suspected of being a Jew, would have set aside the Sicilians, and taken the prosecution of Verres upon himself, Cicero said, "What has a Jew to do with swine's flesh?" For the Romans call a boar-pig *verres*. And when Verres reproached Cicero with effeminacy, he answered, "Why do you not first reprove your own children?" For Verres had a young son who was supposed to make an infamous use of his advantages of person. Hortensius the orator did not venture directly to plead the cause of Verres, but he was prevailed on to

appear for him at the laying of the fine, and had received an ivory sphinx from him by way of consideration. In this case Cicero threw out several enigmatical hints against Hortensius; and when he said, "He knew not how to solve riddles," Cicero retorted, "That is somewhat strange, when you have a sphinx in your house."

Verres being thus condemned, Cicero set his fine at seven hundred and fifty thousand drachmæ; upon which it was said by censorious people that he had been bribed to let him off so low. The Sicilians, however, in acknowledgment of his assistance, brought him, when he was ædile, a number of things for his games, and other very valuable presents; but he was so far from considering his private advantage that he made no other use of their generosity than to lower the price of provisions.

He had a handsome country seat at Arpinum, a farm near Naples, and another at Pompeii, but neither of them was very considerable. His wife, Terentia, brought him a fortune of a hundred and twenty thousand denarii, and he fell heir to something that amounted to ninety thousand more. Upon this he lived in a genteel, and at the same time a frugal manner, with men of letters, both Greeks and Romans, around him. He rarely took his meal before sunset, not that business or study prevented his sitting down to table sooner, but the weakness of his stomach, he thought, required that regimen. Indeed, he was so exact in all respects in the care of his health that he had his stated hours for rubbing and for the exercise of walking. By this management of his constitution he gained a sufficient stock of health and strength for the great labours and fatigues he afterwards underwent.

He gave up the town house which belonged to his

family to his brother, and took up his residence on the Palatine Hill, that those who came to pay their court to him might not have too far to go; for he had a levee every day, not less than Crassus had for his great wealth, or Pompey for his power and interest in the army; though they were the most followed and the greatest men in Rome. Pompey himself paid all due respect to Cicero, and found his political assistance very useful to him, both in respect to power and reputation.

When Cicero stood for the prætorship he had many competitors who were persons of distinction, and yet he was returned first. As a president in the courts of justice, he acted with great integrity and honour. Licinius Macer, who had great interest of his own, and was supported, besides, with that of Crassus, was accused before him of some default with respect to money. He had so much confidence in his own influence and the activity of his friends, that when the judges were going to decide the cause, it is said he went home, cut his hair, and put on a white habit, as if he had gained the victory, and was about to return so equipped to the forum; but Crassus met him in his courtyard, and told him that all the judges had given verdict against him, which affected him in such a manner that he turned in again, took to his bed and died. Cicero gained honour by this affair, for it appeared that he kept strict watch against corruption in the court.

There was another person, named Vatinius, an insolent orator, who paid very little respect to the judges in his pleadings. It happened that he had his neck full of scrofulous swellings. This man applied to Cicero about some business or other; and as that magistrate did not immediately comply with his request, but sat some time

deliberating, he said, "I could easily swallow such a thing if I were prætor;" upon which, Cicero turned towards him, and made answer, "But I have not so large a neck."

When there were only two or three days of his office unexpired, an information was laid against Manilius for embezzling the public money. This Manilius was a favourite of the people, and they thought he was only prosecuted on Pompey's account, being his particular friend. He desired to have a day fixed for his trial; and as Cicero appointed the next day, the people were much offended, because it had been customary for the prætors to allow the accused ten days at the least. The tribunes therefore cited Cicero to appear before the commons and give an account of this proceeding. He desired to be heard in his own defence, which was to this effect:— "As I have always behaved to persons impeached with all the moderation and humanity that the laws will allow, I thought it wrong to lose the opportunity of treating Manilius with the same candour. I was master only of one day more in my office of prætor, and consequently must appoint that; for to leave the decision of the cause to another magistrate was not the method for those who were inclined to serve Manilius." This made a wonderful change in the minds of the people; they were lavish in their praises, and desired him to undertake the defence himself. This he readily complied with; his regard for Pompey, who was absent, not being his least inducement. In consequence hereof, he presented himself before the commons again, and giving an account of the whole affair, took opportunity to make severe reflections on those who favoured oligarchy, and envied the glory of Pompey.

Yet for the sake of their country, the patricians joined the plebeians in raising him to the consulship. The occasion was this. The change which Sylla introduced into the constitution at first seemed harsh and uneasy, but by time and custom it came to an establishment which many thought not a bad one. At present there were some who wanted to bring in another change, merely to gratify their own avarice, and without the least view to the public good. Pompey was engaged with the kings of Pontus and Armenia, and there was no force in Rome sufficient to suppress the authors of this intended innovation. They had a chief of a bold and enterprising spirit, and the most remarkable versatility of manners; his name Lucius Catiline. Beside a variety of other crimes, he was accused of debauching his own daughter, and killing his own brother. To screen himself from prosecution for the latter, he persuaded Sylla to put his brother among the proscribed, as if he had been still alive. These profligates, with such a leader, among other engagements of secrecy and fidelity, sacrificed a man, and ate of his flesh. Catiline had corrupted great part of the Roman youth by indulging their desires in every form of pleasure, providing them wine and women, and setting no bounds to his expenses for these purposes. All Tuscany was prepared for a revolt, and most of Cisalpine Gaul. The vast inequality of the citizens in point of property prepared Rome, too, for a change. Men of spirit amongst the nobility had impoverished themselves by their great expenses on public exhibitions and entertainments, on bribing for offices and erecting magnificent buildings; by which means the riches of the city were fallen into the hands of mean people. In this tottering state of the commonwealth there needed no great force to overset it,

and it was in the power of any bold adventurer to accomplish its ruin.

Catiline, however, before he began his operations, wanted a strong fort to sally out from, and with that view stood for the consulship. His prospect seemed very promising, because he hoped to have Caius Antonius for his colleague; a man who had no firm principles, either good or bad, nor any resolution of his own, but would make a considerable addition to the power of him that led him. Many persons of virtue and honour, perceiving this danger, put up Cicero for the consulship, and the people accepted him with pleasure. Thus Catiline was baffled, and Cicero and Caius Antonius appointed consuls; though Cicero's father was only of the equestrian order, and his competitors of patrician families.

Catiline's designs were not yet discovered to the people. Cicero, however, at his entrance upon his office, had great affairs on his hands, the preludes of what was to follow. On the one hand, those who had been incapacitated by the laws of Sylla to bear offices, being neither inconsiderable in power nor in number, began now to solicit them, and make all possible interest with the people. It is true, they alleged many just and good arguments against the tyranny of Sylla, but it was an unseasonable time to give the administration so much trouble. On the other hand, the tribunes of the people proposed laws which had the same tendency to distress the government, for they wanted to appoint decemvirs, and invest them with an unlimited power. This was to extend over all Italy, over Syria, and all the late conquests of Pompey. They were to be commissioned to sell the public lands in these countries; to judge or banish whom they pleased; to plant colonies; to take money

out of the public treasury ; to levy and keep on foot what troops they thought necessary. Many Romans of high distinction were pleased with the bill, and in particular Antony, Cicero's colleague, for he hoped to be one of the ten. It was thought, too, that he was no stranger to Catiline's designs, and that he did not disrelish them on account of his great debts. This was an alarming circumstance to all who had the good of their country at heart.

This danger, too, was the first that Cicero guarded against ; which he did by getting the province of Macedonia decreed to Antony, and not taking that of Gaul which was allotted to himself. Antony was so much affected with this favour, that he was ready, like a hired player, to act a subordinate part under Cicero for the benefit of his country. Cicero, having thus managed his colleague, began with greater courage to take his measures against the seditious party. He alleged his objections against the law in the senate, and effectually silenced the proposers. They took another opportunity, however, and, coming prepared, insisted that the consuls should appear before the people. Cicero, not in the least intimidated, commanded the senate to follow him. He addressed the commons with such success that they threw out the bill ; and his victorious eloquence had such an effect upon the tribunes that they gave up other things which they had been meditating.

He was, indeed, the man who most effectually showed the Romans what charms eloquence can add to truth, and that justice is invincible when properly supported. He showed, also, that a magistrate who watches for the good of the community should in his actions always prefer right to popular measures, and in his speeches know how

to make those right measures agreeable, by separating from them whatever may offend. Of the grace and power with which he spoke, we have a proof in a theatrical regulation that took place in his consulship. Before, those of the equestrian order sat mixed with the commonalty. Marcus Otho, in his prætorship, was the first who separated the knights from the other citizens, and appointed them seats which they still enjoy. The people looked upon this as a mark of dishonour, and hissed and insulted Otho when he appeared at the theatre. The knights, on the other hand, received him with loud plaudits. The people repeated their hissing, and the knights their applause; till at last they came to mutual reproaches, and threw the whole theatre in the utmost disorder. Cicero being informed of the disturbance, came and called the people to the temple of Bellona, where, partly by reproof, partly by lenient applications, he so corrected them that they returned to the theatre, loudly testifying their approbation of Otho's conduct, and strove with the knights which should do him the most honour.

Catiline's conspiracy, which at first had been intimidated and discouraged, began to recover its spirits. The accomplices assembled, and exhorted each other to begin their operations with vigour before the return of Pompey, who was said to be already marching homewards with his forces. But Catiline's chief motive for action was the dependence he had on Sylla's veterans. Though these were scattered all over Italy, the greatest and most warlike part resided in the cities of Etruria, and in idea were plundering and sharing the wealth of Italy again. They had Manlius for their leader, a man who had served with great distinction under Sylla; and now entering into

Catiline's views, they came to Rome to assist in the approaching election, for he solicited the consulship again, and had resolved to kill Cicero in the tumult of that assembly.

The gods seemed to presignify the machinations of these incendiaries by earthquakes, thunders, and apparitions. There were also intimations from men, true enough in themselves, but not sufficient for the conviction of a person of Catiline's quality and power. Cicero, therefore, adjourned the day of election; and having summoned Catiline before the senate, examined him upon the information he had received. Catiline, believing there were many in the senate who wanted a change, and at the same time being desirous to show his resolution to his accomplices who were present, answered with a calm firmness, "As there are two bodies, one of which is feeble and decayed, but has a head, the other strong and robust, but is without a head, what harm am I doing if I give a head to the body that wants it?" By these enigmatical expressions he meant the senate and the people; consequently Cicero was still more alarmed. On the day of election he put on a coat of mail; the principal persons in Rome conducted him from his house, and great numbers of the youth attended him to the Campus Martius. There he threw back his robe, and showed part of the coat of mail, on purpose to point out his danger. The people were incensed, and immediately gathered about him; the consequence of which was, that Catiline was thrown out again, and Silanus and Murena chosen consuls.

Not long after this, when the veterans were assembling for Catiline in Etruria, and the day appointed for carrying the plot into execution approached, three of the first

and greatest personages in Rome, Marcus Crassus, Marcus Marcellus, and Metellus Scipio, went and knocked at Cicero's door about midnight; and having called the porter, bade him awake his master, and tell him who attended. Their business was this: Crassus's porter brought him in a packet of letters after supper, which he had received from a person unknown. They were directed to different persons, and there was one for Crassus himself, but without a name. This only Crassus read; and when he found that it informed him of a great massacre intended by Catiline, and warned him to retire out of the city, he did not open the rest, but immediately went to wait on Cicero; for he was not only terrified at the impending danger, but he had some suspicions to remove, which had arisen from his acquaintance with Catiline. Cicero, having consulted with them what was proper to be done, assembled the senate at break of day, and delivered the letters according to the directions, desiring at the same time that they might be read in public. They all gave the same account of the conspiracy.

Quintus Arrius, a man of prætorian dignity, moreover, informed the senate of the levies that had been made in Etruria, and assured them that Manlius, with a considerable force, was hovering about those parts, and only waiting for news of an insurrection in Rome. On these informations the senate made a decree by which all affairs were committed to the consuls, and they were empowered to act in the manner they should think best for the preservation of the commonwealth. This is an edict which the senate seldom issue, and never but in some great and imminent danger.

When Cicero was invested with this power he committed the care of things without the city to Quintus

Metellus, and took the direction of all within to himself. He made his appearance every day attended and guarded by such a multitude of people that they filled great part of the forum. Catiline, unable to bear any longer delay, determined to repair to Manlius and his army; and ordered Marcius and Cethegus to take their swords and go to Cicero's house early in the morning, where, under pretence of paying their compliments, they were to fall upon him and kill him. But Fulvia, a woman of quality, went to Cicero in the night to inform him of his danger, and charged him to be on his guard in particular against Cethegus. As soon as it was light, the assassins came, and being denied entrance, they grew very insolent and clamorous, which made them the more suspected.

Cicero went out afterwards, and assembled the senate in the temple of Jupiter Stator, which stands at the entrance of the Via Sacra, in the way to the Palatine hill. Catiline came among the rest, as with a design to make his defence; but there was not a senator who would sit by him; they all left the bench he had taken; and when he began to speak, they interrupted him in such a manner that he could not be heard.

At length Cicero rose up, and commanded him to depart the city; "for," said he, "while I employ only words, and you weapons, there should at least be walls between us." Catiline, upon this, immediately marched out with three hundred men well armed, and with the fasces and other ensigns of authority, as if he had been a lawful magistrate. In this form he went to Manlius, and having assembled an army of twenty thousand men, he marched to the cities, in order to persuade them to revolt. Hostilities having thus openly commenced, Antony, Cicero's colleague, was sent against Catiline.

Such as Catiline had corrupted, and thought proper to leave in Rome, were kept together and encouraged by Cornelius Lentulus, surnamed Sura, a man of noble birth but bad life. He had been expelled the senate for his debaucheries, but was then prætor the second time; for that was a customary qualification when ejected persons were to be restored to their places in the senate. As to the surname of Sura, it is said to have been given him on this occasion:—When he was quæstor in the time of Sylla, he had lavished away vast sums of the public money. Sylla, incensed at his behaviour, demanded an account of him in full senate. Lentulus came up in a very careless and disrespectful manner, and said, "I have no account to give, but I present you with the calf of my leg;" which was a common expression among the boys, when they missed their stroke at tennis. Hence he had the surname of Sura, which is the Roman word for the calf of the leg. Another time, being prosecuted for some great offence, he corrupted the judges. When they had given their verdict, though he was acquitted only by a majority of two, he said, "He had put himself to a needless expense in bribing one of those judges, for it would have been sufficient to have had a majority of one."

Such was the disposition of this man, who had not only been solicited by Catiline, but was, moreover, infatuated with vain hopes, which prognosticators and other impostors held up to him. They forged verses in an oracular form, and brought him them as from the books of the Sibyls. These lying prophecies signified the decree of fate, "that three of the Cornelii would be monarchs of Rome." They added "that two had already fulfilled their destiny, Cinna and Sylla; that he was the third Cornelius whom the gods now offered the monarchy;

and that he ought by all means to embrace his high fortune, and not ruin it by delays, as Catiline had done."

Nothing little or trivial now entered into the schemes of Lentulus. He resolved to kill the whole senate, and as many of the other citizens as he possibly could; to burn the city, and to spare none but the sons of Pompey, whom he intended to seize and keep as pledges of his peace with that general: for by this time it was strongly reported that he was on his return from his great expedition. The conspirators had fixed on a night during the feast of the Saturnalia for the execution of their enterprise. They had lodged arms and combustible matter in the house of Cethegus. They had divided Rome into a hundred parts, and pitched upon the same number of men, each of which was allotted his quarter to set fire to. As this was to be done by them at the same moment, they hoped that the conflagration would be general; others were to intercept the water, and kill all that went to seek it.

While these things were preparing, there happened to be at Rome two ambassadors from the Allobroges, a nation that had been much oppressed by the Romans, and was very impatient under their yoke. Lentulus and his party thought these ambassadors proper persons to raise commotions in Gaul, and bring that country to their interest, and therefore made them partners in the conspiracy. They likewise charged them with letters to their magistrates and to Catiline. To the Gauls they promised liberty, and they desired Catiline to enfranchise the slaves, and march immediately to Rome. Along with the ambassadors they sent one Titus, of Crotona, to carry the letters to Catiline. But the measures of these inconsiderate men, who generally consulted upon their affairs

over their wine, and in company with women, were soon discovered by the indefatigable diligence, the sober address, and great capacity of Cicero. He had his emissaries in all parts of the city, to trace every step they took; and had, besides, a secret correspondence with many who pretended to join in the conspiracy; by which means he got intelligence of their treating with those strangers.

In consequence hereof, he laid an ambush for the Crotonian in the night, and seized him and the letters; the ambassadors themselves privately lending him their assistance. Early in the morning he assembled the senate in the temple of Concord, where he read the letters, and took the depositions of the witnesses. Junius Silanus deposed that several persons had heard Cethegus say that three consuls and four prætors would very soon be killed. The evidence of Piso, a man of consular dignity, contained circumstances of the like nature. And Caius Sulpitius, one of the prætors, who was sent to Cethegus's house, found there a great quantity of javelins, swords, poniards, and other arms, all new furbished. At last, the senate giving the Crotonian a promise of indemnity, Lentulus saw himself entirely detected, and laid down his office (for he was then prætor): he put off his purple robe in the house, and took another more suitable to his present distress. Upon which, both he and his accomplices were delivered to the prætors, to be kept in custody, but not in chains.

By this time it grew late, and as the people were waiting without in great numbers for the event of the day, Cicero went out and gave them an account of it. After which, they conducted him to the house of a friend who lived in his neighbourhood; his own being taken up with

the women, who were then employed in the mysterious rites of the goddess whom the Romans call Bona, or the Good, and the Greeks Gynecea. An annual sacrifice is offered her in the consul's house, by his wife and mother, and the vestal virgins give their attendance. When Cicero was retired to the apartments assigned him, with only a few friends, he began to consider what punishment he should inflict upon the criminals. He was extremely loath to proceed to a capital one, which the nature of their offence seemed to demand, as well by reason of the mildness of his disposition, as for fear of incurring the censure of making an extravagant and severe use of his power against men who were of the first families, and had powerful connections in Rome. On the other side, if he gave them a more gentle chastisement, he thought he should still have something to fear from them. He knew that they would never rest with anything less than death, but would rather break out into the most desperate villainies, when their former wickedness was sharpened with anger and resentment. Besides, he might himself be branded with the mark of timidity and weakness, and the rather because he was generally supposed not to have much courage.

Before Cicero could come to a resolution, the women who were sacrificing observed an extraordinary presage. When the fire on the altar seemed to be extinguished, a strong and bright flame suddenly broke out of the embers. The other women were terrified at the prodigy, but the vestal virgins ordered Terentia, Cicero's wife, to go to him immediately, and command him from them "boldly to follow his best judgment in the service of his country, because the goddess, by the brightness of this flame, promised him not only safety, but glory in his enterprise."

Terentia was by no means of a meek and timorous disposition, but had her ambition, and (as Cicero himself says) took a greater share with him in politics than she permitted him to have in domestic business. She now informed him of the prodigy, and exasperated him against the criminals. His brother Quintus, and Publius Nigidius, one of his philosophical friends, whom he had made great use of in the administration, strengthened him in the same purpose.

Next day the senate met to deliberate on the punishment of the conspirators; and Silanus, being first asked his opinion, gave it for sending them to prison, and punishing them in the severest manner that was possible. The rest in their order agreed with him, till it came to Caius Cæsar, who was afterwards dictator. Cæsar, then a young man, and just in the dawn of power, both in his measures and his hopes, was taking that road which he continued in till he turned the Roman commonwealth into a monarchy. This was not observed by others, but Cicero had strong suspicions of him. He took care, however, not to give him a sufficient handle against him. Some say the consul had almost got the necessary proofs, and that Cæsar had a narrow escape. Others assert that Cicero purposely neglected the informations that might have been had against him, for fear of his friends and his great interest; for, had Cæsar been brought under the same predicament with the conspirators, it would rather have contributed to save than to destroy them.

When it came to his turn to give judgment, he rose and declared "not for punishing them capitally, but for confiscating their estates, and lodging them in any of the towns of Italy that Cicero should pitch upon, where they might be kept in chains till Catiline was conquered."

To this opinion, which was on the merciful side, and supported with great eloquence by him who gave it, Cicero himself added no small weight; for in his speech he gave the arguments at large for both opinions, first for the former, and afterwards for that of Cæsar. And all Cicero's friends, thinking it would be less invidious for him to avoid putting the criminals to death, were for the latter sentence, insomuch, that even Silanus changed sides, and excused himself by saying that he did not mean capital punishment, for that imprisonment was the severest which a Roman senator could suffer.

The matter thus went on till it came to Lutatius Catulus. He declared for capital punishment; and Cato supported him, expressing in strong terms his suspicions of Cæsar, which so aroused the spirit and indignation of the senate that they made a decree for sending the conspirators to execution. Cæsar then opposed the confiscating their goods; for, he said, it was unreasonable, when they rejected the mild part of his sentence, to adopt the severe. As the majority still insisted upon it, he appealed to the tribunes. The tribunes, indeed, did not put in their prohibition, but Cicero himself gave up the point, and agreed that the goods should not be forfeited.

After this, Cicero went at the head of the senate to the criminals, who were not all lodged in one house, but in those of the several prætors. First he took Lentulus from the Palatine hill, and led him down the Via Sacra, and through the middle of the forum. The principal persons in Rome attended the consul on all sides, like a guard; the people stood silent at the horror of the scene; and the youth looked on with fear and astonishment, as if they were initiated that day in some awful ceremonies of aristocratic power. When he had passed the forum,

and was come to the prison, he delivered Lentulus to the executioner. Afterwards he brought Cethegus, and all the rest in their order, and they were put to death. In his return he saw others who were in the conspiracy standing thick in the forum. As these knew not the fate of their ringleaders, they were waiting for night, in order to go to their rescue, for they supposed them yet alive. Cicero, therefore, called out to them aloud, "They did live." The Romans, who choose to avoid all inauspicious words, in this manner express death.

By this time it grew late, and as he passed through the forum to go to his own house, the people now did not conduct him in a silent and orderly manner, but crowded to hail him with loud acclamations and plaudits, calling him "The saviour and second founder of Rome." The streets were illuminated with a multitude of lamps, and torches placed by the doors. The women held out lights from the tops of the houses, that they might behold and pay a proper compliment to, the man who was followed with solemnity by a train of the greatest men in Rome, most of whom had distinguished themselves by successful wars, led up triumphs, and enlarged the empire both by sea and land. All these, in their discourse with each other as they went along, acknowledged that Rome was indebted to many generals and great men of that age for pecuniary acquisitions, for rich spoils, for power, but for preservation and safety to Cicero alone, who had rescued her from so great and dreadful a danger. Not that his quashing the enterprise, and punishing the delinquents, appeared so extraordinary a thing; but the wonder was that he could suppress the greatest conspiracy that ever existed, with so little inconvenience to the state, without the least sedition or tumult. For many who had joined

Catiline, left him on receiving intelligence of the fate of Lentulus and Cethegus ; and that traitor, giving Antony battle with the troops that remained, was destroyed, with his whole army.

Yet some were displeased with this conduct and success of Cicero, and inclined to do him all possible injury. At the head of this faction were some of the magistrates for the ensuing year ; Cæsar, who was to be prætor, and Metellus and Bestia, tribunes. These last, entering upon their office a few days before that of Cicero expired, would not suffer him to address the people. They placed their own benches on the rostra, and only gave him permission to take the oath upon laying down his office, after which he was to descend immediately. Accordingly, when Cicero went up, it was expected that he would take the customary oath ; but silence being made, instead of the usual form, he adopted one that was new and singular. The purport of it was that "he had saved his country, and preserved the empire ;" and all the people joined in it.

This exasperated Cæsar and the tribunes still more, and they endeavoured to create him new troubles. Among other things they proposed a decree for calling Pompey home with his army, to suppress the despotic power of Cicero. It was happy for him, and for the whole commonwealth, that Cato was then one of the tribunes ; for he opposed them with an authority equal to theirs, and a reputation that was much greater, and consequently broke their measures with ease. He made a set speech upon Cicero's consulship, and represented it in so glorious a light that the highest honours were decreed him, and he was called the Father of his Country, a mark of distinction which none ever gained before. Cato

bestowed that title on him before the people, and they confirmed it.

His authority in Rome at that time was undoubtedly great; but he rendered himself obnoxious and burdensome to many, not by any ill action, but by continually praising and magnifying himself. He never entered the senate, the assembly of the people, or the courts of judicature, but Catiline and Lentulus were the burden of his song. Not satisfied with this, his writings were so interlarded with encomiums on himself that though his style was elegant and delightful, his discourses were disgusting and nauseous to the readers; for the blemish stuck to him like an incurable disease.

But though he had such an insatiable avidity of honour, he was never unwilling that others should have their share; for he was entirely free from envy; and it appears from his works that he was most liberal in his praises, not only of the ancients, but of those of his own time. Many of his remarkable sayings, too, of this nature, are preserved. Thus of Aristotle he said "that he was a river of flowing gold;" and of Plato's dialogues "that if Jupiter were to speak, he would speak as he did." Theophrastus he used to call his "particular favourite;" and being asked which of Demosthenes's orations he thought the best, he answered, "The longest." Some who affect to be zealous admirers of that orator, complain, indeed, of Cicero's saying in one of his epistles "that Demosthenes sometimes nodded in his orations;" but they forget the many great encomiums he bestowed on him in other parts of his works; and do not consider that he gave the title of "Philippics" to his orations against Mark Antony, which were the most elaborate he ever wrote. There was not one of his contemporaries celebrated

either for his eloquence or philosophy whose fame he did not promote, either by speaking or writing of him in an advantageous manner. He persuaded Cæsar, when dictator, to grant Cratippus the Peripatetic the freedom of Rome. He likewise prevailed upon the council of Areopagus to make out an order for desiring him to remain at Athens to instruct the youth, and not deprive their city of such an ornament. There are, moreover, letters of Cicero's to Herodes, and others to his son, in which he directs them to study philosophy under Cratippus; but he accuses Gorgias the rhetorician of accustoming his son to a life of pleasure and intemperance, and therefore forbids the young man his society. Amongst his Greek letters, this, and another to Pelops the Byzantine, are all that discover anything of resentment. His reprimand to Gorgias certainly was right and proper, if he was the dissolute man he passed for; but he betrays an excessive meanness in his expostulations with Pelops for neglecting to procure him certain honours from the city of Byzantium.

These were the effects of his vanity. Superior keenness of expression, too, which he had at command, led him into many violations of decorum. He pleaded for Munatius in a certain cause, and his client was acquitted in consequence of his defence. Afterwards Munatius prosecuted Sabinus, one of Cicero's friends; upon which he was so much transported with anger as to say, "Thinkest thou it was the merit of thy cause that saved thee, and not rather the cloud which I threw over thy crimes, and which kept them from the sight of the court." He had succeeded in an encomium on Marcus Crassus from the rostrum, and a few days after publicly reproached him. "What!" said Crassus, "did you not lately praise me in

the place where you now stand?" "True," answered Cicero; "but I did it by way of experiment, to see what I could make of a bad subject." Crassus had once affirmed that none of his family ever lived above threescore years; but afterwards wanted to contradict it, and said, "What could I be thinking of when I asserted such a thing?" "You knew," said Cicero, "that such an assertion would be very agreeable to the people of Rome." Crassus happened one day to profess himself much pleased with that maxim of the Stoics, "The good man is always rich." "I imagine," said Cicero, "there is another more agreeable to you, 'All things belong to the prudent,'" for Crassus was notoriously covetous. Crassus had two sons, one of which resembled a man called Accius so much that his mother was suspected of an intrigue with him. This young man spoke in the senate with great applause; and Cicero being asked what he thought of him, answered in Greek, "Axios Crassou." When Crassus was going to set out for Syria, he thought it better to leave Cicero his friend than his enemy, and therefore addressed him one day in an obliging manner, and told him he would come and sup with him. Cicero accepted the offer with equal politeness. A few days after, Vatinius likewise applied to him by his friends and desired a reconciliation. "What!" said Cicero, "does Vatinius, too, want to sup with me?" Such were his jests upon Crassus. Vatinius had scrofulous tumours in his neck; and one day when he was pleading, Cicero called him "a tumid orator." An account was once brought Cicero that Vatinius was dead, which being afterwards contradicted, he said, "May vengeance seize the tongue that told the lie!" When Cæsar proposed a decree for distributing the lands in Campania among the soldiers, many of the senators were

displeased at it; and Lucius Gellius, in particular, who was one of the oldest of them, said, "That shall never be while I live." "Let us wait awhile, then," said Cicero; "for Gellius requires no very long credit." There was one Octavius who had it objected to him that he was an African. One day when Cicero was pleading, this man said he could not hear him. "That is somewhat strange," said Cicero, "for you are not without a hole in your ear." When Metellus Nepos told him "that he had ruined more as an evidence than he had saved as an advocate;" "I grant it," said Cicero, "for I have more truth than eloquence." A young man, who lay under the imputation of having given his father a poisoned cake, talking in an insolent manner, and threatening that Cicero should feel the weight of his reproaches, Cicero answered, "I had much rather have them than your cake." Publius Sestius had taken Cicero, among others, for his advocate in a cause of some importance, and yet he would suffer no man to speak but himself. When it appeared that he would be acquitted, and the judges were giving their verdict, Cicero called to him, and said, "Sestius, make the best use of your time to-day, for to-morrow you will be out of office." Publius Cotta, who affected to be thought an able lawyer, though he had neither learning nor capacity, being called as a witness in a certain cause, declared, "He knew nothing of the matter." "Perhaps," said, Cicero, "you think I am asking you some question in law." Metellus Nepos, in some difference with Cicero, often asking him, "Who is your father?" he replied, "Your mother has made it much more difficult for you to answer that question," for his mother had not the most unsullied reputation. This Metellus was himself a man of a light unbalanced mind. He suddenly quitted the

tribunitial office, and sailed to Pompey in Syria; and when he was there, he returned in a manner still more absurd. When his preceptor Philagrus died, he buried him in a pompous manner, and placed the figure of a crow in marble on his monument. "This," said Cicero, "was one of the wisest things you ever did; for your preceptor has taught you rather to fly than to speak." Marcus Appius having mentioned, in the introduction to one of his pleadings, that his friend had desired him to try every resource of care, eloquence, and fidelity in his cause, Cicero said, "What a hard-hearted man you are not to do any one thing that your friend has desired of you!"

It seems not foreign to the business of an orator to use this cutting raillery against enemies or opponents; but his employing it indiscriminately merely to raise a laugh rendered him extremely obnoxious. To give a few instances. He used to call Marcus Aquilius "Adrastus," because he had two sons-in-law who were both in exile. Lucius Cotta, a great lover of wine, was censor when Cicero solicited the consulship. Cicero in the course of his canvass happening to be thirsty, called for water, and said to his friends who stood round him as he drank, "You do well to conceal me, for you are afraid that the censor will call me to an account for drinking water." Meeting Voconius one day with three daughters, who were very plain women, he cried out—

"On this conception Phœbus never smiled."

Marcus Gellius, who was supposed to be of servile extraction, happening to read some letters in the senate with a loud and strong voice, "Do not be surprised at it," said Cicero, "for there have been public criers in his

family." Faustus, the son of Sylla the dictator, who had proscribed great numbers of Romans, having run deep in debt and wasted great part of his estate, was obliged to put up public bills for the sale of it. Upon which Cicero said, "I like these bills much better than his father's."

Many hated him for these keen sarcasms, which encouraged Clodius and his faction to form their schemes against him. The occasion was this: Clodius, who was of a noble family, young and adventurous, entertained a passion for Pompeia, the wife of Cæsar; this induced him to get privately into the house, which he did in the habit of a female musician. The women were offering in Cæsar's house that mysterious sacrifice which is kept from the sight and knowledge of men. But, though no man is suffered to assist in it, Clodius, who was very young and had his face yet smooth, hoped to pass through the women to Pompeia undiscovered. As he entered a great house in the night, he was puzzled to find his way; and one of the women belonging to Aurelia, Cæsar's mother, seeing him wandering up and down, asked his name; being now forced to speak, he said he was seeking Abra, one of Pompeia's maids. The woman, perceiving it was not a female voice, shrieked out and called the matrons together. They immediately made fast the doors, and, searching the whole house, found Clodius skulking in the apartment of the maid who introduced him.

As the affair made a great noise, Cæsar divorced Pompeia, and prosecuted Clodius for that act of impiety. Cicero was at that time his friend; for, during the conspiracy of Catiline, he had been ready to give him all the assistance in his power, and even attended as one of his guards. Clodius insisted, in his defence, that he was not

then at Rome, but at a considerable distance in the country; but Cicero attested that he came that very day to his house, and talked with him about some particular business. This was, indeed, a matter of fact; yet probably it was not so much the influence of truth, as the necessity of satisfying his wife Terentia, that induced him to declare it. She hated Clodius on account of his sister Clodia, for she was persuaded that that lady wanted to get Cicero for her husband, and that she managed the design by one Tullus. As Tullus was an intimate friend of Cicero's, and likewise constantly paid his court to Clodia, who was his neighbour, that circumstance strengthened her suspicions. Besides, Terentia was a woman of an imperious temper, and, having an ascendant over her husband, she put him upon giving evidence against Clodius. Many other persons of honour alleged against him the crimes of perjury, of fraud, of bribing the people, and corrupting the women. Nay, Lucullus brought his maid servants to prove that Clodius had a criminal commerce with his own sister, who was the wife of that nobleman. This was the youngest of the sisters; and it was generally believed that he had connections of the same kind with his other sisters, one of which, named Tertia, was married to Martius Rex; and the other, Clodia, to Metellus Celer. The latter was called Quadrantaria, because one of her lovers palmed upon her a purse of small brass money instead of silver; the smallest brass coin being called a quadrans. It was on this sister's account that Clodius was most censured. As the people set themselves both against the witnesses and the prosecutors, the judges were so terrified that they thought it necessary to place a guard about the court; and most of them confounded the letters upon the tablets.

He seemed, however, to be acquitted by the majority; but it was said to be through pecuniary applications. Hence Catulus, when he met the judges, said, "You were right in desiring a guard for your defence, for you were afraid that somebody would take the money from you." And when Clodius told Cicero that the judges did not give credit to his deposition: "Yes," said he, "five-and-twenty of them believed me, for so many condemned you; nor did the other thirty believe you, for they did not acquit you till they had received your money." As to Cæsar, when he was called upon, he gave no testimony against Clodius; nor did he affirm that he was certain of any injury done to his bed. He only said, "He had divorced Pompeia, because the wife of Cæsar ought not only to be clear of such a crime, but of the very suspicion of it."

After Clodius had escaped this danger, and was elected tribune of the people, he immediately attacked Cicero, and left neither circumstance nor person untried to ruin him. He gained the people by laws that flattered their inclinations, and the consuls by decreeing them large and wealthy provinces; for Piso was to have Macedonia and Gabinius Syria. He registered many mean and indigent persons citizens, and armed a number of slaves for his constant attendants. Of the great triumvirate, Crassus was an avowed enemy to Cicero. Pompey indifferently caressed both parties, and Cæsar was going to set out upon his expedition to Gaul. Though the latter was not his friend, but rather suspected of enmity since the affair of Catiline, it was to him that he applied. The favour he asked of him was that he would take him as his lieutenant, and Cæsar granted it. Clodius perceiving that Cicero would, by this means, get out of the reach of his

tribunitial power, pretended to be inclined to a reconciliation. He threw most of the blame of the late difference on Terentia; and spoke always of Cicero in terms of candour, not like an adversary vindictively inclined, but as one friend might complain of another. This removed Cicero's fears so entirely that he gave up the lieutenancy which Cæsar had indulged him with, and began to attend to business as before.

Cæsar was so much piqued at this proceeding that he encouraged Clodius against him, and drew off Pompey entirely from his interest. He declared, too, before the people, that Cicero, in his opinion, had been guilty of a flagrant violation of all justice and law in putting Lentulus and Cethegus to death, without any form of trial. This was the charge which he was summoned to answer. Cicero then put on mourning, let his hair grow, and, with every token of distress, went about to supplicate the people. Clodius took care to meet him everywhere in the streets with his audacious and insolent crew, who insulted him on his change of dress, and often disturbed his applications by pelting him with dirt and stones. However, almost all the equestrian order went into mourning with him; and no fewer than twenty thousand young men of the best families attended him with their hair dishevelled, and entreated the people for him. Afterwards the senate met with an intent to decree that the people should change their habits, as in times of public mourning; but, as the consuls opposed it, and Clodius beset the house with his armed band of ruffians, many of the senators ran out, rending their garments, and exclaiming against the outrage.

But this spectacle excited neither compassion nor shame; and it appeared that Cicero must either go into

exile or decide the dispute with the sword. In this extremity he applied to Pompey for assistance; but he had purposely absented himself, and remained at his Alban villa. Cicero first sent his son-in-law Piso to him, and afterwards went himself. When Pompey was informed of his arrival he could not bear to look him in the face. He was confounded at the thought of an interview with his injured friend, who had fought such battles for him, and rendered him so many services in the course of his administration; but being now son-in-law to Cæsar, he sacrificed his former obligations to that connection, and went out at a back door to avoid his presence.

Cicero, thus betrayed and deserted, had recourse to the consuls. Gabinius always treated him rudely, but Piso behaved with some civility. He advised him to withdraw from the torrent of Clodius's rage; to bear this change of the times with patience; and to be once more the saviour of his country, which, for his sake, was in all this trouble and commotion.

After this answer, Cicero consulted with his friends. Lucullus advised him to stay, and assured him he would be victorious. Others were of opinion that it was best to fly, because the people would soon be desirous of his return, when they were weary of the extravagance and madness of Clodius. He approved of this last advice; and taking a statue of Minerva, which he had long kept in his house with great devotion, he carried it to the capitol, and dedicated it there, with this inscription: "To Minerva, the Protectress of Rome." About midnight he privately quitted the city; and, with some friends who attended to conduct him, took his route on foot through Lucania, intending to pass from thence to Sicily.

It was no sooner known that he was fled than Clodius procured a decree of banishment against him, which prohibited him fire and water and admission into any house within five hundred miles of Italy. But such was the veneration the people had for Cicero, that in general there was no regard paid to the decree. They showed him every sort of civility, and conducted him on his way with the most cordial attention. Only at Hipponium, a city of Lucania, now called Vibo, one Vibius, a native of Sicily, who had particular obligations to him, and, among other things, had an appointment under him when consul, as surveyor of the works, now refused to admit him into his house; but, at the same time, acquainted him that he would appoint a place in the country for his reception. And Caius Virginius, the prætor of Sicily, though indebted to Cicero for considerable services, wrote to forbid him entrance into that island.

Discouraged at these instances of ingratitude, he repaired to Brundusium, where he embarked for Dyrrhachium. At first he had a favourable gale, but the next day the wind turned about, and drove him back to port. He set sail, however, again as soon as the wind was fair. It is reported that when he was going to land at Dyrrhachium there happened to be an earthquake, and the sea retired to a great distance from the shore. The diviners inferred that his exile would be of no long continuance, for these were tokens of a sudden change. Great numbers of people came to pay their respects to him, and the cities of Greece strove which should show him the greatest civilities; yet he continued dejected and disconsolate. Like a passionate lover, he often cast a longing look towards Italy, and behaved with a littleness of spirit which could not have been expected from a man

that had enjoyed such opportunities of cultivation from letters and philosophy. Nay, he had often desired his friends not to call him an orator but a philosopher, because he had made philosophy his business, and rhetoric only the instrument of his political operations. But opinion has great power to efface the tinctures of philosophy, and infuse the passions of the vulgar into the minds of statesmen, who have a necessary connection and commerce with the multitude; unless they take care so to engage in everything extrinsic as to attend to the business only, without imbibing the passions that are the common consequence of that business.

After Clodius had banished Cicero, he burned his villas and his house in Rome; and on the place where the latter stood erected a temple to Liberty. His goods he put up to auction, and the crier gave notice of it every day, but no buyer appeared. By these means he became formidable to the patricians; and having drawn the people with him into the most audacious insolence and effrontery, he attacked Pompey, and called in question some of his acts and ordinances in the wars. As this exposed Pompey to some reflection, he blamed himself greatly for abandoning Cicero; and, entirely changing his plan, took every means for effecting his return. As Clodius constantly opposed them, the senate decreed that no public business of any kind should be despatched by their body till Cicero was recalled.

In the consulship of Lentulus the sedition increased; some of the tribunes were wounded in the forum; and Quintus, the brother of Cicero, was left for dead among the slain. The people began now to change their opinion; and Annius Milo, one of the tribunes, was the first who ventured to call Clodius to answer for his violation of

the public peace. Many of the people of Rome, and of the neighbouring cities, joined Pompey; with whose assistance he drove Clodius out of the forum, and then he summoned the citizens to vote. It is said that nothing was ever carried among the commons with so great unanimity; and the senate, endeavouring to give still higher proofs of their attachment to Cicero, decreed that their thanks should be given the cities which had treated him with kindness and respect during his exile; and that his town and country houses, which Clodius had demolished, should be rebuilt at the public charge.

Cicero returned sixteen months after his banishment; and such joy was expressed by the cities, so much eagerness to meet him by all ranks of people, that his own account of it is less than the truth, though he said "that Italy had brought him on her shoulders to Rome." Crassus, who was his enemy before his exile, now readily went to meet him, and was reconciled. In this, he said, he was willing to oblige his son Publius, who was a great admirer of Cicero.

Not long after his return, Cicero, taking his opportunity when Clodius was absent, went up with a great company to the capitol, and destroyed the tribunitial tables, in which were recorded all the acts in Clodius's time. Clodius loudly complained of this proceeding; but Cicero answered "that his appointment as tribune was irregular, because he was of a patrician family, and consequently all his acts were invalid." Cato was displeased, and opposed Cicero in this assertion. Not that he praised Clodius; on the contrary, he was extremely offended at his administration; but he represented "that it would be a violent stretch of prerogative, for the senate to annul so many decrees and acts, among

which were his own commission and his regulations at Cyprus and Byzantium." The difference which this produced between Cato and Cicero did not come to an absolute rupture; it only lessened the warmth of their friendship.

After this Milo killed Clodius; and being arraigned for the fact, he chose Cicero for his advocate. The senate, fearing that the prosecution of a man of Milo's spirit and reputation might produce some tumult in the city, appointed Pompey to preside at this and the other trials, and to provide both for the peace of the city and the courts of justice. In consequence of which, he posted a body of soldiers in the forum before day, and secured every part of it. This made Milo apprehensive that Cicero would be disconcerted at so unusual a sight, and less able to plead. He therefore persuaded him to come in a litter to the forum, and to repose himself there till the judges were assembled and the court filled; for he was not only timid in war, but he had his fear when he spoke in public; and in many causes he scarce left trembling, even in the height and vehemence of his eloquence. When he undertook to assist in the defence of Licinius Muræna, against the prosecution of Cato, he was ambitious to outdo Hortensius, who had already spoken with great applause; for which reason he sat up all night to prepare himself. But that watching and application hurt him so much that he appeared inferior to his rival.

When he came out of the litter to open the cause of Milo, and saw Pompey seated on high, as in a camp, and weapons glistering all around the forum, he was so confounded that he could scarce begin his oration; for he shook and his tongue faltered, though Milo attended the

trial with great courage, and had disdained to let his hair grow, or to put on mourning. These circumstances contributed not a little to his condemnation. As for Cicero, his trembling was imputed rather to his anxiety for his friend than to any particular timidity.

Cicero was appointed one of the priests called Augurs in the room of young Crassus, who was killed in the Parthian war. Afterwards the province of Cilicia was allotted to him, and he sailed thither with an army of twelve thousand foot, and two thousand six hundred horse. He had it in charge to bring Cappadocia to submit to king Ariobarzanes, which he performed to the satisfaction of all parties, without having recourse to arms; and finding the Cilicians elated on the miscarriage of the Romans in Parthia and the commotions in Syria, he brought them to order by the gentleness of his government. He refused the presents which the neighbouring princes offered him. He excused the province from finding him a public table, and daily entertained at his own charge persons of honour and learning, not with magnificence, indeed, but with elegance and propriety. He had no porter at his gate, nor did any man ever find him in bed; for he rose early in the morning, and kindly received those who came to pay their court to him, either standing or walking before his door. We are told that he never caused any man to be beaten with rods, or to have his garments rent; never gave opprobrious language in his anger, nor added insult to punishment. He recovered the public money which had been embezzled, and enriched the cities with it. At the same time he was satisfied if those who had been guilty of such frauds made restitution, and fixed no mark of infamy upon them.

He had also a taste of war, for he routed the bands of robbers that had possessed themselves of Mount Amanus, and was saluted by his army Imperator on that account. Cæcilius, the orator, having desired him to send him some panthers from Cilicia for his games at Rome, in his answer he could not forbear boasting of his achievements. He said, "There were no panthers left in Cilicia. Those animals, in their vexation to find that they were the only objects of war, while everything else was at peace, were fled into Caria."

In his return from his province he stopped at Rhodes, and afterwards made some stay at Athens; which he did with great pleasure, in remembrance of the conversations he had formerly had there. He had now the company of all that were most famed for erudition; and visited his former friends and acquaintance. After he had received all due honours and marks of esteem from Greece, he passed on to Rome, where he found the fire of dissension kindled, and everything tending to a civil war.

When the senate decreed him a triumph, he said, "He had rather follow Cæsar's chariot wheels in his triumph if a reconciliation could be effected between him and Pompey." And in private he tried every healing and conciliating method, by writing to Cæsar, and entreating Pompey. After it came to an open rupture, and Cæsar was on his march to Rome, Pompey did not choose to wait for him, but retired, with numbers of the principal citizens in his train. Cicero did not attend him in his flight; and therefore it was believed that he would join Cæsar. It is certain that he fluctuated greatly in his opinion, and was in the utmost anxiety; for he says in his epistles, "Whither shall I turn? Pompey has the more honourable cause, but Cæsar manages his affairs

with the greatest address, and is most able to save himself and his friends. In short, I know whom to avoid, but not whom to seek." At last, one Trebatius, a friend of Cæsar's, signified to him by letter that Cæsar thought he had reason to reckon him of his side, and to consider him as partner of his hopes. But if his age would not permit it, he might retire into Greece, and live there in tranquillity, without any connection with either party. Cicero was surprised that Cæsar did not write himself, and answered angrily "that he would do nothing unworthy of his political character." Such is the account we have of the matter in his epistles.

However, upon Cæsar's marching for Spain, he crossed the sea and repaired to Pompey. His arrival was agreeable to the generality, but Cato blamed him privately for taking this measure. "As for me," said he, "it would have been wrong to leave that party which I embraced from the beginning; but you might have been much more serviceable to your country and your friends, if you had stayed at Rome, and accommodated yourself to events; whereas now, without any reason or necessity, you have declared yourself an enemy to Cæsar, and are come to share in the danger in which you had nothing to do."

These arguments made Cicero change his opinion; especially when he found that Pompey did not employ him upon any considerable service. It is true no one was to be blamed for this but himself, for he made no secret of his repenting. He disparaged Pompey's preparations; he insinuated his dislike of his counsels, and never spared his jests upon his allies. He was not, indeed, inclined to laugh himself; on the contrary, he walked about the camp with a very solemn countenance; but he often

made others laugh, though they were little inclined to it. Perhaps it may not be amiss to give a few instances. When Domitius advanced a man who had no turn for war to the rank of captain, and assigned for his reason that he was an honest and prudent man, "Why, then," said Cicero, "do you not keep him for governor to your children?" When some were commending Theophanes the Lesbian, who was director of the board of works, for consoling the Rhodians on the loss of their fleet, "See," said Cicero, "what it is to have a Grecian director!" When Cæsar was successful in almost every instance, and held Pompey as it were besieged, Lentulus said, "He was informed that Cæsar's friends looked very sour." "You mean, I suppose," said Cicero, "that they are out of humour with him." One Martius, newly arrived from Italy, told them a report prevailed at Rome that Pompey was blocked up in his camp: "Then," said Cicero, "you took a voyage on purpose to see it." After Pompey's defeat, Nonnius said, there was room yet for hope for there were seven eagles left in the camp. Cicero answered, "That would be good encouragement if we were to fight with jackdaws." When Labienus, on the strength of some oracles, insisted that Pompey must be conqueror at last, "By this oracular generalship," said Cicero, "we have lost our camp."

After the battle of Pharsalia (in which he was not present, on account of his ill health), and after the flight of Pompey, Cato, who had considerable forces, and a great fleet at Dyrrhachium, desired Cicero to take the command, because his consular dignity gave him a legal title to it. Cicero, however, not only declined it, but absolutely refused taking any further share in the war. Upon which young Pompey and his friends called him

traitor, drew their swords, and would certainly have despatched him, had not Cato interposed and conveyed him out of the camp.

He got safe to Brundusium, and stayed there some time in expectation of Cæsar, who was detained by his affairs in Asia and Egypt. When he heard that the conqueror was arrived at Tarentum, and designed to proceed from thence by land to Brundusium, he set out to meet him, not without hope, nor yet without some shame and reluctance at the thought of trying how he stood in the opinion of a victorious enemy before so many witnesses. He had no occasion, however, either to do or to say anything beneath his dignity. Cæsar no sooner beheld him, at some considerable distance, advancing before the rest, than he dismounted, and ran to embrace him, after which he went on discoursing with him alone for many furlongs. He continued to treat him with great kindness and respect, insomuch, that when he had written an encomium on Cato, which bore the name of that great man, Cæsar in his answer, entitled "Anticato," praised both the eloquence and conduct of Cicero, and said he greatly resembled Pericles and Theramenes.

When Quintus Ligarius was prosecuted for bearing arms against Cæsar, and Cicero had undertaken to plead his cause, Cæsar is reported to have said, "Why may we not give ourselves a pleasure which we have not enjoyed so long, that of hearing Cicero speak; since I have already taken my resolution as to Ligarius, who is clearly a bad man, as well as my enemy?" But he was greatly moved when Cicero began; and his speech, as it proceeded, had such a variety of pathos, so irresistible a charm, that his colour often changed, and it was evident that his mind was torn with conflicting passions. At

last, when the orator touched on the battle of Pharsalia, he was so extremely affected that his whole frame trembled, and he let drop some papers out of his hand. Thus conquered by the force of eloquence, he acquitted Ligarius.

The commonwealth being changed into a monarchy, Cicero withdrew from the scene of public business, and bestowed his leisure on the young men who were desirous to be instructed in philosophy. As these were of the best families, by his interest with them, he once more obtained great authority in Rome. He made it his business to compose and translate philosophical dialogues, and to render the Greek terms of logic and natural philosophy in the Roman language. For it is said that he first, or principally at least, gave Latin terms for these Greek words: *phantasia*, "imagination;" *syncatathesis*, "assent;" *epoche*, "doubt;" *catalepsis*, "comprehension;" *atomis*, "atom;" *ameres*, "indivisible;" *kenon*, "void," and many other such terms in science; contriving either by metaphorical expression, or strict translation, to make them intelligible and familiar to the Romans. His ready turn for poetry afforded him amusement, for we are told when he was intent upon it, he could make five hundred verses in one night. As in this period he spent most of his time at his Tusculan villa, he wrote to his friends "that he led the life of Laertes;" either by way of raillery, as his custom was, or from an ambitious desire of public employment, and discontent in his present situation. Be that as it may, he rarely went to Rome, and then only to pay his court to Cæsar. He was always one of the first to vote him additional honours, and forward to say something new of him and his actions. Thus, when Cæsar ordered Pompey's statues, which had been

pulled down, to be erected again, Cicero said, "That by this act of humanity in setting up Pompey's statues he had established his own."

It is reported that he had formed a design to write the history of his own country, in which he would have interwoven many of the Grecian affairs, and inserted not only their speeches, but fables. But he was prevented by many disagreeable circumstauces, both public and private, into most of which he brought himself by his own indiscretion. For, in the first place, he divorced his wife Terentia. The reasons he assigned were that she had neglected him during the war, and even sent him out without necessaries. Besides, after his return to Italy, she behaved to him with little regard, and did not wait on him during his long stay at Brundusium. Nay, when his daughter, at that time very young, took so long a journey to see him, she allowed her but an indifferent equipage and insufficient supplies. Indeed, according to his account, his house was become naked and empty through the many debts which she had contracted. These were the most specious pretences for the divorce. Terentia, however, denied all these charges; and Cicero himself made a full apology for her, by marrying a younger woman not long after. Terentia said he took her merely for her beauty; but his freedman Tyro affirms that he married her for her wealth that it might enable him to pay his debts. She was, indeed, very rich, and her fortune was in the hands of Cicero, who was left her guardian. As his debts were great, his friends and relations persuaded him to marry the young lady, notwithstanding the disparity of years, and satisfy his creditors out of her fortune.

Antony, in his answer to the Philippics, taxes him with

"Repudiating a wife with whom he was grown old;" and rallies him on account of his perpetually keeping at home, like a man unfit either for business or war. Not long after this match, his daughter Tullia, who after the death of Piso had married Lentulus, died in childbed. The philosophers came from all parts to comfort him, for his loss affected him extremely, and he even put away his new bride, because she seemed to rejoice at the death of Tullia. In this posture were Cicero's domestic affairs.

As to those of the public, he had no share in the conspiracy against Cæsar, though he was one of Brutus's particular friends, and no man was more uneasy under the new establishment, or more desirous of having the commonwealth restored. Possibly they feared his natural deficiency of courage, as well as his time of life, at which the boldest begin to droop. After the work was done by Brutus and Cassius, the friends of Cæsar assembled to revenge his death, and it was apprehended that Rome would again be plunged in civil wars. Antony, who was consul, ordered a meeting of the Senate, and made a short speech on the necessity of union. But Cicero expatiated in a manner suitable to the occasion, and persuaded the Senate, in imitation of the Athenians, to pass a general amnesty as to all that had been done against Cæsar, and to decree provinces to Brutus and Cassius.

None of these things, however, took effect, for the people were inclined to pity on this event, and when they beheld the dead body of Cæsar carried into the forum, where Antony showed them his robe stained with blood and pierced on all sides with swords, they broke out into a transport of rage. They sought all over the forum for the actors in that tragedy, and ran with

lighted torches to burn their houses. By their precaution they escaped this danger, but as they saw others no less considerable impending, they left the city.

Antony, elated with this advantage, became formidable to all the opposite party, who supposed that he would aim at nothing less than absolute power; but Cicero had particular reason to dread him; for being sensible that Cicero's weight in the administration was established again, and of his strong attachment to Brutus, Antony could hardly bear his presence. Besides, there had long been some jealousy and dislike between them on account of the dissimilarity of their lives. Cicero, fearing the event, was inclined to go with Dolabella into Syria, as his lieutenant. But afterwards Hirtius and Pansa, who were to be consuls after Antony, persons of great merit and good friends to Cicero, desired him not to leave them, and promised, with his assistance, to destroy Antony. Cicero, without depending much on their scheme, gave up that of going with Dolabella, and agreed with the consuls elect to pass the summer in Athens, and return when they entered upon their office.

Accordingly, he embarked for that place, without taking any principal Roman along with him. But his voyage being accidentally retarded, news was brought from Rome (for he did not choose to be without news), that there was a wonderful change in Antony; that he took all his steps agreeably to the sense of the Senate, and that nothing but his presence was wanting to bring matters to the best establishment. He therefore condemned his excessive caution, and returned to Rome.

His first hopes were not disappointed. Such crowds came out to meet him that almost a whole day was spent

at the gates and on his way home in compliments and congratulations. Next day Antony convened the Senate, and sent for Cicero; but he kept his bed, pretending that he was indisposed with his journey. In reality he seems to have been afraid of assassination, in consequence of some hints he received by the way. Antony was extremely incensed at these suggestions, and ordered a party of soldiers either to bring him or to burn his house in case of refusal. However, at the request of numbers who interposed, he revoked that order, and bade them only bring a pledge from his house.

After this, when they happened to meet, they passed each other in silence, and lived in mutual distrust. Meantime young Cæsar, arriving from Apollonia, put in his claim as heir to his uncle, and sued Antony for twenty-five million drachmas which he detained of the estate.

Hereupon Philip, who had married the mother, and Marcellus, who was husband to the sister of Octavius, brought him to Cicero. It was agreed between them that Cicero should assist Cæsar with his eloquence and interest, both with the Senate and the people, and Cæsar should give Cicero all the protection that his wealth and military influence could afford; for the young man had already collected a considerable number of the veterans who had served under his uncle.

Cicero received the offer of his friendship with pleasure, for while Pompey and Cæsar were living, Cicero it seems had a dream, in which he thought he called some boys, the sons of senators, up to the capitol, because Jupiter designed to pitch upon one of them for sovereign of Rome. The citizens ran with all the eagerness of expectation, and placed themselves about the temple, and

the boys in their prætextæ sat silent. The doors suddenly opening, the boys rose up one by one, and, in their order, passed round the god, who reviewed them all, and sent them away disappointed; but when Octavius approached, he stretched out his hand to him, and said, "Romans, this is the person who, when he comes to be your prince, will put an end to your civil wars." This vision, they tell us, made such an impression upon Cicero, that he perfectly retained the figure and countenance of the boy, though he did not yet know him. Next day he went down to the Campus Martius, when the boys were just returning from their exercises, and the first who struck his eye was the lad in the very form that he had seen in his dream. Astonished at the discovery, Cicero asked him who were his parents, and he proved to be the son of Octavius, a person not much distinguished in life, and of Attia, sister to Cæsar. As he was so near a relation, and Cæsar had no children of his own, he adopted him, and by will left him his estate. Cicero, after his dream, whenever he met young Octavius, is said to have treated him with particular regard; and he received those marks of his friendship with great satisfaction. Besides, he happened to be born the year that Cicero was consul.

These were pretended to be the causes of their present connection. But the leading motive with Cicero was his hatred of Antony, and the next his natural avidity of glory, for he hoped to throw the weight of Octavius into the scale of the commonwealth; and the latter behaved to him with such a puerile deference, that he even called him father. Hence Brutus, in his letters to Atticus, expressed his indignation against Cicero, and said "that, as through fear of Antony he paid his court to young

Cæsar, it was plain that he took not his measures for the liberty of his country, but only to obtain a gentle master for himself." Nevertheless, Brutus finding the son of Cicero at Athens, where he was studying under the philosophers, gave him a command, and employed him upon many services which proved successful.

Cicero's power at this time was at its greatest height; he carried every point that he desired, insomuch that he expelled Antony, and raised such a spirit against him, that the consuls Hirtius and Pansa were sent to give him battle, and Cicero likewise prevailed upon the senate to grant Cæsar the fasces, with the dignity of prætor, as one that was fighting for his country.

Antony, indeed, was beaten; but both the consuls falling in the action, the troops ranged themselves under the banners of Cæsar. The senate now fearing the views of a young man who was so much favoured by fortune, endeavoured by honours and gifts to draw his forces from him and to diminish his power. They alleged that, as Antony was put to flight, there was no need to keep such an army on foot. Cæsar, alarmed at these vigorous measures, privately sent some friends to entreat and persuade Cicero to procure the consulship for them both, promising, at the same time, that he should direct all affairs according to his better judgment, and find him perfectly tractable, who was but a youth and had no ambition for anything but the title and the honour. Cæsar himself acknowledged afterwards that, in his apprehensions of being entirely ruined and deserted, he seasonably availed himself of Cicero's ambition, persuaded him to stand for the consulship, and undertook to support his application with his whole interest.

In this case particularly Cicero, old as he was, suffered

himself to be imposed upon by this young man, solicited the people for him, and brought the senate into his interest. His friends blamed him for it at the time, and it was not long before he was sensible that he had ruined himself and given up the liberties of his country; for Cæsar was no sooner strengthened with the consular authority than he gave up Cicero; and reconciling himself to Antony and Lepidus, he united his power with theirs, and divided the empire among them, as if it had been a private estate. At the same time they proscribed about two hundred persons whom they had pitched upon for a sacrifice. The greatest difficulty and dispute was about the proscription of Cicero; for Antony would come to no terms till he was first taken off. Lepidus agreed with Antony in this preliminary, but Cæsar opposed them both. They had a private congress for these purposes near the city of Bononia, which lasted three days. The place where they met was over against their camps, a little island in the river. Cæsar is said to have contended for Cicero the two first days; but the third he gave him up. The sacrifices on each side were these: Cæsar was to abandon Cicero to his fate; Lepidus, his brother Paulus, and Antony, Lucius Cæsar, his uncle by the mother's side. Thus rage and rancour entirely stifled in them all sentiments of humanity, or, more properly speaking, they showed that no beast is more savage than man, when he is possessed of power equal to his passion.

While his enemies were thus employed, Cicero was at his Tusculan villa, and his brother Quintus with him. When they were informed of the proscription, they determined to remove to Astyra, a country-house of Cicero's near the sea, where they intended to take a ship, and repair to Brutus in Macedonia, for it was reported, that

he was already very powerful in those parts. They were carried in their several litters, oppressed with sorrow and despair; and often joining their litters on the road, they stopped to bemoan their mutual misfortunes. Quintus was the more dejected, because he was in want of necessaries; for, as he said, he had brought nothing from home with him. Cicero, too, had but a slender provision. They concluded, therefore, that it would be best for Cicero to hasten his flight, and for Quintus to return to his house, and get some supplies. This resolution being fixed upon, they embraced each other with every expression of sorrow, and then parted.

A few days after, Quintus and his son were betrayed by his servants to the assassins who came in quest of them, and lost their lives. As for Cicero, he was carried to Astyra, where, finding a vessel, he immediately went on board and coasted along to Circæum with a favourable wind. The pilots were preparing immediately to sail from thence, but whether it was that he feared the sea, or had not yet given up all his hopes in Cæsar, he disembarked, and travelled a hundred furlongs on foot, as if Rome had been the place of his destination. Repenting, however, afterwards, he left that road, and made again for the sea. He passed the night in the most perplexing and horrid thoughts, insomuch that he was sometimes inclined to go privately into Cæsar's house, and stab himself upon the altar of his domestic gods, to bring the divine vengeance upon his betrayer; but he was deterred from this by the fear of torture. Other alternatives equally distressful, presented themselves. At last, he put himself in the hands of his servants, and ordered them to carry him by sea to Cajeta, where he had a delightful retreat in the summer, when the Etesian winds set in.

There was a temple of Apollo on that coast, from which a flight of crows came, with great noise, towards Cicero's vessel, as it was making land. They perched on both sides the sailyards, where some sat croaking and others pecking the ends of the ropes; all looked upon this as an ill omen, yet Cicero went on shore, and entering his house, lay down to repose himself. In the meantime a number of the crows settled in the chamber-window, and croaked in the most doleful manner; one of them even entered in, and alighting on the bed, attempted with its beak to draw off the clothes with which he had covered his face. On sight of this, the servants began to reproach themselves. "Shall we," said they, "remain to be spectators of our master's murder? Shall we not protect him, so innocent and so great a sufferer as he is, when the brute creatures give him marks of their care and attention?" Then partly by entreaty, partly by force, they got him into his litter, and carried him towards the sea.

Meantime the assassins came up. They were commanded by Herennius, a centurion, and Pompilius, a tribune, whom Cicero had formerly defended when under a prosecution for parricide. The doors of the house being made fast, they broke them open; still Cicero did not appear, and the servants who were left behind said they knew nothing of him. But a young man named Philologus, his brother Quintus's freedman, whom Cicero had instructed in the liberal arts and sciences, informed the tribune that they were carrying the litter through deep shades to the seaside. The tribune, taking a few soldiers with him, ran to the end of the walk where he was to come out. But Cicero perceiving that Herennius was hastening after him, ordered his servants to set the litter down; and putting his left hand to his chin, as it was

his custom to do, he looked steadfastly upon his murderers. Such an appearance of misery in his face, overgrown with hair, and wasted with anxiety, so much affected the attendants of Herennius that they covered their faces during the melancholy scene. That officer despatched him, while he stretched his neck out of the litter to receive the blow. Thus fell Cicero, in the sixty-fourth year of his age. Herennius cut off his head, and, by Antony's command, his hands too, with which he had written the Philippics. Such was the title he gave his orations against Antony, and they retain it to this day.

When these parts of Cicero's body were brought to Rome, Antony happened to be holding an assembly for the election of magistrates. He no sooner beheld them, than he cried out, "Now let there be an end to all proscriptions." He ordered the head and hands to be fastened up over the rostra, a dreadful spectacle to the Roman people, who thought they did not so much see the face of Cicero, as a picture of Antony's soul. Yet he did one act of justice on this occasion, which was the delivering up Philologus to Pomponia the wife of Quintus. When she was mistress of his fate, beside other horrid punishments, she made him cut off his own flesh by piecemeal and roast and eat it. This is the account some historians give us; but Tyro, Cicero's freedman, makes no mention of the treachery of Philologus.

I am informed that a long time after, Cæsar going to see one of his grandsons, found him with a book of Cicero's in his hands. The boy, alarmed at the accident, endeavoured to hide the book under his robe, which Cæsar perceived and took it from him; and after having run most of it over as he stood, he returned it and said,

"My dear child, this was an eloquent man, and a lover of his country."

Being consul at the time when he conquered Antony, he took the son of Cicero for his colleague, under whose auspices the senate took down the statues of Antony, defaced all the monuments of his honour, and decreed that for the future none of his family should bear the name of Marcus. Thus the divine justice reserved the completion of Antony's punishment for the house of Cicero.

DEMOSTHENES AND CICERO COMPARED.

THESE are the most memorable circumstances in the lives of Demosthenes and Cicero that could be collected from the historians which have come to our knowledge. Though I shall not pretend to compare their talents for speaking, yet this, I think, I ought to observe, that Demosthenes, by the exertion of all his powers, both natural and acquired, upon that object only, came to exceed in energy and strength the most celebrated pleaders of his time; in grandeur and magnificence of style, all that were eminent for the sublime of declamation; and in accuracy and art, the most able professors of rhetoric. Cicero's studies were more general, and, in his treasures of knowledge, he had a great variety. He has left us a number of philosophical tracts, which he composed upon the principles of the academy; and we see something of an ostentation of learning in the very orations which he wrote for the forum and the bar.

Their different tempers are discernible in their way of

writing. That of Demosthenes, without any embellishments of wit and humour, is always grave and serious. Nor does it smell of the lamp, as Pytheas tauntingly said, but of the water drinker, of the man of thought, of one who was characterised by the austerities of life. But Cicero, who loved to indulge in his vein of pleasantry, so much affected the wit that he sometimes sunk into the buffoon; and by affecting gaiety in the most serious things, to serve his client, he has offended against the rules of propriety and decorum. Thus, in his oration for Cœlius, he says, "Where is the absurdity, if a man, with an affluent fortune at command, shall indulge himself in pleasure? It would be madness not to enjoy what is in his power, particularly when some of the greatest philosophers place man's chief good in pleasure."

When Cato impeached Murena, Cicero, who was then consul, undertook his defence; and, in his pleading, took occasion to ridicule several paradoxes of the Stoics, because Cato was of that sect. He succeeded so far as to raise a laugh in the assembly, and even among the judges. Upon which Cato smiled, and said to those who sat by him, "What a pleasant consul we have!" Cicero, indeed, was naturally facetious; and he not only loved his jest, but his countenance was gay and smiling. Whereas Demosthenes had a care and thoughtfulness in his aspect, which he seldom or never put off. Hence his enemies, as he confesses, called him a morose, ill-natured man.

It appears also from their writings, that Demosthenes, when he touches upon his own praise, does it with an inoffensive delicacy. Indeed, he never gives into it at all but when he has some great point in view; and on all other occasions is extremely modest. But Cicero, in his orations, speaks in such high terms of himself that it is

plain he had a most intemperate vanity. Thus he cries out :—

> "Let arms revere the robe, the warrior's laurel
> Yield to the palm of eloquence."

At length he came to commend not only his own actions and operations in the commonwealth, but his orations too, as well those which he had only pronounced as those he had committed to writing, as if, with a juvenile vanity, he were vying with the rhetoricians Isocrates and Anaximenes, instead of being inspired with the great ambition of guiding the Roman people.

> "Fierce in the field, and dreadful to the foe."

It is necessary, indeed, for a statesman to have the advantage of eloquence, but it is mean and illiberal to rest in such a qualification, or to hunt after praise in that quarter. In this respect Demosthenes behaved with more dignity, with a superior elevation of soul. He said, "His ability to explain himself was a mere acquisition ; and not so perfect but that it required great candour and indulgence in the audience." He thought it must be, as indeed it is, only a low and little mind that can value itself upon such attainments.

They both undoubtedly had political abilities, as well as powers to persuade. They had them in such a degree that men who had armies at their devotion stood in need of their support. Thus Chares, Diopithes, and Leosthenes, availed themselves of Demosthenes ; Pompey and young Cæsar, of Cicero ; as Cæsar himself acknowledges in his commentaries addressed to Agrippa and Mæcenas.

It is an observation no less just than common, that

nothing makes so thorough a trial of a man's disposition as power and authority, for they awaken every passion and discover every latent vice. Demosthenes never had an opportunity for a trial of this kind; he never obtained any eminent charge; nor did he lead those armies against Philip, which his eloquence had raised. But Cicero went quæstor into Sicily, and proconsul into Cilicia and Cappadocia; at a time too when avarice reigned without control; when the governors of provinces, thinking it beneath them to take a clandestine advantage, fell to open plunder; when to take another's property was thought no great crime, and he who took moderately passed for a man of character. Yet at such a time as this Cicero gave many proofs of his contempt of money; many of his humanity and goodness. At Rome, with the title only of consul, he had an absolute and dictatorial power against Catiline and his accomplices. On which occasion he verified the prediction of Plato, "That every state will be delivered from its calamities, when, by the favour of fortune, great power unites with wisdom and justice in one person."

It is mentioned, to the disgrace of Demosthenes, that his eloquence was mercenary; that he privately composed orations both for Phormio and Apollodorus, though adversaries in the same cause. To which we may add that he was suspected of receiving money from the King of Persia, and condemned for taking bribes of Harpalus. Supposing some of these the calumnies of those who wrote against him (and they are not a few); yet it is impossible to affirm that he was proof against the presents which were sent him by princes, as marks of honour and respect. This was too much to be expected from a man who vested his money at interest upon ships. Cicero, on the other

hand, had magnificent presents sent him by the Sicilians, when he was ædile; by the King of Cappadocia, when proconsul: and his friends pressed him to receive their benefactions when in exile, yet, as we have already observed, he refused them all.

The banishment of Demosthenes reflected infamy upon him, for he was convicted of taking bribes: that of Cicero great honour, because he suffered for destroying traitors, who had vowed the ruin of their country. The former, therefore, departed without exciting pity or regret; for the latter the senate changed their habit, continued in mourning, and could not be persuaded to pass any act till the people had recalled him. Cicero, indeed, spent the time of exile in an inactive manner in Macedonia; but with Demosthenes it was a busy period in his political character. Then it was (as we have mentioned above) that he went to the several cities of Greece, strengthened the common interest and defeated the designs of the Macedonian ambassadors. In which respect he discovered a much greater regard for his country than Themistocles and Alcibiades, when under the same misfortune. After his return he pursued his former plan of government, and continued the war with Antipater and the Macedonians. Whereas Lælius reproached Cicero in full senate with sitting silent, when Cæsar, who was not yet come to years of maturity, applied for the consulship contrary to law. And Brutus, in one of his letters, charged him with "having reared a greater and more insupportable tyranny than that which they had destroyed."

As to the manner of their death we cannot think of Cicero's without a contemptuous kind of pity. How deplorable to see an old man, for want of proper resolution,

suffering himself to be carried about by his servants, endeavouring to hide himself from death, which was a messenger that nature would soon have sent him, and overtaken notwithstanding and slaughtered by his enemies! The other, though he did discover some fear by taking sanctuary, is, nevertheless, to be admired for the provision he had made of poison, for the care with which he had preserved it, and his noble manner of using it. So that when Neptune did not afford him an asylum he had recourse to a more inviolable altar, rescued himself from the weapons of the guards, and eluded the cruelty of Antipater.

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